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ABSTRACT

Divided into four parts, this document presents papers covering: quantitative analysis and educational history, ethnicity and education, educational paradigms, and schooling in the urban heartland. The first paper in part 1, "The Social and Economic Correlates of School Attendance among the Children of Textile Workers, 1890" (D. L. Angus, B. A. Hilbert, and J. E. Mirel) is based on the 1890 and 1891 annual reports of the commissioner of labor. "Path Analysis: Another Research Tool for the Educational Historian" (I. Newman and C. M. Dye) reviews the uses of path analysis as a research methodology. Part 2 begins with "A Test of Andrew M. Greeley's Six Step Theory of Ethnic Assimilation by the Use of Norwegian-American Historiography" (F. C. Nelsen). "Ethnicity and Ethnic Studies Revisited" (M. M. Krug) reviews the rise in the 1970s of ethnic awareness in education. "Two Christian Ideas of Childhood: Clement of Alexandria and Augustine" (J. J. Chambliss) contrasts Clement's childhood innocence based on Christ's teaching and Augustine's sinfulness of children as a burden received from Adam. "Paradigms of Education: An Overview" (R. Marks) is an introduction for a larger study on the overview of the enlightenment, evolutionary, progressive, and perennial paradigms. Part 4, "The Irony of Twentieth-Century Educational Policy and Juvenile Delinquency in Chicago, 1890-1972" (M. W. Sedlak) describes the sexual discrimination of educational solutions. The proceedings, the business meeting's minutes, and the directory of attendance are included along with an index to the first 10 volumes of the proceedings. (DJC)

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Charles M. Dye
Frank C. Nelsen
Mark M. Krug
J.J. Chambliss
Russell Marks
Michael W. Sedlak

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Editor's Foreword

This 10th issue of the *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society* marks a milestone in the history of our scholarly fraternity. To indicate this achievement we have included in this edition an index of the first 10 annual volumes. Our Society is now nearing two decades of scholarly activity. This impressive record of service and research could not have been attained without the support of the administration, faculty and staff of Loyola University, most notably the College of Education. My own Department of Educational Psychology and Foundations and the administration and staff of the University of Northern Iowa also deserve our gratitude for their gifts of institutional support and services in this publishing venture. It is hoped that the next decade will be one of progress and growth, both for the Society and our field of study. This first decade has been a solid beginning because of the hard work of many, too numerous to mention, who can be proud that they have pushed back the frontiers of knowledge in the history of education.

Edward Rutkowski
Editor

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PART I

Quantitative Analysis and Educational History

The Social and Economic Correlates of School Attendance Among the Children of Textile Workers, 1890.

David L. Angus
The University of Michigan

Introduction

In 1885, Carroll D. Wright, labor commissioner for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, became the U.S. commissioner of labor. Wright was one of a new breed of public officials who believed that public policy should be based on a firm foundation of "scientifically" gathered statistical data. In the late '80s, a leading issue of the day was tariffs, and Wright set out to gather data on the cost-of-living among workers in key industries most affected by tariff legislation. Between 1888 and 1890, field workers gathered massive amounts of highly detailed data on the incomes and expenditure patterns of the families of workers in nine industries: pig iron, bar iron, steel, soft coal, coke, iron ore, cotton, wool, and glass.[1] In all, data were collected in 24 states and five foreign countries, and were published as the sixth and seventh annual reports of the commissioner of labor.

In 1979, a sub-set of the data from these reports was put in machine-readable form and archived by the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) at The University of Michigan. The studies which follow are based on an analysis of this dataset. Out of the 8,544 families interviewed for the original reports, the ICPSR dataset includes nearly 4,000 families whose heads were employed in two of the nine industries: cotton and wool textiles. Families from 19 states and four European countries are included, with annual incomes ranging from $109 to $2,777.[2] Demographic data include the state or country of residence; the ethnicity of the household head; his specific occupation; the age and sex of each family member; the employment status of the mother; the number of children in each family who were working, attending school, or still at home; the number of boarders; the number of rooms occupied and whether or not the home was owned.[3] Income data are provided in five categories: father's income, mother's income, children's income, income from boarders, and income from other sources.[4] Data on expenditures are particularly rich, listing the amount spent on 22 separate food items and on each of 20 non-food categories.[5]

At a glance, it is obvious that this dataset provides a unique opportunity

to study some correlates of late 19th century school attendance which are not available from other sources. Previous studies have relied on federal and state census manuscripts as the primary data source.[6] While these provide considerable information on the relative importance of certain variables, such as ethnicity, occupation, family size, etc., they contain no direct information on the income and expenditures of families. A further limitation is that these studies focus on a small geographic area such as a single city or county, providing little basis for broader generalizations.

Of course, this dataset has limitations of its own. Almost nothing is known about how the information was gathered beyond the fact that it was collected by trained interviewers and placed in a standardized format. Some families initially contacted were omitted because they kept no records of their expenditures and could not recall them well enough to respond to the questions. No records were made of non-monetary transfers such as keeping gardens, relying on neighbors for baby-sitting, and making clothes at home.[7] Some of the nuances of household composition are lost to us by virtue of the fact that persons who were not members of the nuclear family were grouped together and classified as "boarders and others." Only about 10 percent of these families were extended, and in about half of these cases it is possible to tell if the additional persons were boarders or others. Nonetheless, where household type emerges as a predictor of school attendance, as it does in the South and among the European families, we would like to know more about this than the data permit.

For our purposes, the most important limitation of the U.S. Labor Study of Family Budgets is the absence of any direct indication of whether each child was at work, at school, or at home. It did provide the age and sex of each child up to a total of eight children, and it did record the number of children in each family who were at work, at school, and at home. We were able to create a quite reliable "status" variable from this information. First, the numbers of children in each family falling within several arbitrarily selected age ranges were calculated and matched against the totals reported in each of the above categories. The best "fit" was attained when the "school age" was defined as six to 13, the "at-home age" as one to five, and the "working age" as 14 and older. About 64 percent of the families for whom this calculation could be carried out fit this "normal" pattern.[8] Next, all families which did not fit the pattern were categorized according to the particular way in which they deviated from it. For example, families reporting more children at home than children ages one to five and fewer children at school than children ages six to 13 were classed as deviance type one families, and so on through 11 different types of deviance. Close examination of the age structure of the families in each type showed that, in the great majority of cases, systematic recalculation of age range totals would bring them into a match with the reported data. For example, for deviance type one

families, we recoded six-year-olds, then seven-year-olds, etc. as being "at home" until a match was attained for each family. In only two small groups of families was the age structure so at odds with the work-school-home totals reported that we felt we could not, with confidence,[9] establish the specific status of individual children.

This procedure is based upon one important assumption, though not an unreasonable one. It is simply that young children are more likely to be at home than older children in the same family, and that older children are more likely to be at work than younger children in the same family. There may be isolated instances in which this assumption has led us astray, but with over 11,000 dependent children in the dataset, nearly 9,000 of whom could be coded by this method, these few "errors" will not much influence the analysis.

Table 1.1 displays the school attendance rates which we calculated for the children of textile workers living in northern states, in southern states and in four European countries. As might well be expected, these rates are substantially below those which can be calculated for the population as a whole from the federal census of 1890 and the Report of the U.S. Commissioner of Education of that year.[10] The textile industry was notorious for its child labor practices, one commentator referring to it as the "Herod among industries." These children had ample opportunity to leave school and go to work in the mills. This was particularly true of the southern states where neither compulsory attendance laws nor child labor laws protected children from exploitation.[11] As the table shows, the peak school attendance in the South occurred at age 10, and yet no more of these southern 10-year-olds attended school than seven- or 13-year-olds in northern states or six-year-olds in Europe. Not shown by this table is the fact that fully half of the southern 10-year-olds that were not in school were working rather than at home. Our data revealed one seven-year-old and four eight-year-olds at work in the South. By age nine, one child in 10 was at work. By age 11, this rose to 30 percent.

But just as clearly, many of the children of textile industry families did go to school, foregoing the opportunity to contribute to their family's income. A few entered school as young as age three and a few remained into their late teens. The two studies which follow will explore in great detail what social and economic factors might have made the difference between those families whose children were in school and those whose children were at work or still at home.

Table 1.1

Percent of School Attendance by Age and Region: Textile Workers' Children, 1890

	Region					
	North[1]		South[2]		Europe[3]	
Age	n	%	n	%	n	%
4	286	3.5	73	4.1	105	21.9
5	287	13.6	65	6.2	92	55.4
6	295	62.4	78	21.8	132	71.2
7	202	85.6	75	46.7	88	100.0
8	273	84.6	75	68.0	98	96.9
9	184	94.6	68	66.2	89	98.9
10	237	94.9	85	71.8	100	96.0
11	175	96.6	66	62.1	78	97.4
12	260	93.5	106	65.1	103	96.1
13	197	70.6	107	18.7	83	59.0
14	246	36.2	95	10.5	70	32.9
15	220	9.1	88	1.1	85	5.9
16	225	5.8	88	2.3	72	4.2
17	186	5.4	78	0.0	58	5.2
18	212	1.9	80	1.3	70	9.0

[1]Includes Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland.

[2]Includes mainly children from Georgia, Virginia, and North Carolina. Very small numbers of children are also included from Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky.

[3]Includes France, Germany, Great Britain, and Switzerland.

Footnotes

[1] U.S. Bureau of Labor, *Sixth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1890* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1890); and *Seventh Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1891* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1891).

[2] The states were Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Kentucky, Maryland, and Tennessee. The countries were France, Germany, Great Britain, and Switzerland.

[3] Many of the southern states are represented by very few families. Southern states show almost no ethnic variety with 95 percent of textile workers there being U.S.-born. There were 158 different job titles reported, but this item was left blank for large numbers of workers. There is considerable evidence of "age-heaping" in the report of the children's ages (see note 9). No children are reported as being both at work and at school, though clearly some may have been. Investigators treated these as mutually exclusive categories. We can only hope that the data do not depend upon the time of the year in which they were gathered. As we explain later, the number of boarders was combined with the number of "others" who were not members of the nuclear family. The number of rooms occupied was reported only for those who rented. It was not reported for those who owned their own homes or who lived rent-free, presumably in company housing. The rate of home ownership among these textile workers was less than half the average rates in each region.

[4] On average, among all the families in the dataset, the father's income amounted to 60 percent of the family's total income, the children's income was 30 percent, the mother's income was three percent, income from boarders was 5 percent and income from other sources amounted to 2 percent. Of course, not all families had income from all of these sources.

[5] The food items were: beef, hay, unspecified meats, eggs, lard, butter, tea, coffee, sugar, molasses, potatoes, poultry, fish, milk, flour and meal, bread, rice, cheese, fruit, vinegar pickle condiment, vegetables. Non-food items were: rent, fuel, lighting, husband's clothing, wife's clothing, children's clothing, furniture and utensils, taxes, property insurance, life insurance, labor organizations, other organizations, religious expenses, charity, books and newspapers, amusements and vacation, intoxicating liquors, tobacco, sickness and death.

[6] See, for example: Michael Katz, "Who Went to School?" *History of Education Quarterly* (Fall, 1972); Selwyn R. Troen, "Popular Education in Nineteenth Century St. Louis," *History of Education Quarterly* (Spring, 1973); Frank Denton and Peter George, "Socio-Economic Influences on School Attendance: A Study of a Canadian County in 1871," *History of Education Quarterly* (Summer, 1974); Michael Katz and Ian Davey, "Youth and Early Industrialization in a Canadian City," *Turning Points*, eds. John Demos and Sarane Boocock (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1978); Carl Kaestle and Maris Vinovskis, "From Fireside to Factory: School Entry and School Leaving in Nineteenth Century Massachusetts," *Transitions*, ed. Tamara Haraven (New York: Academic Press, 1978); Jo Ellen Vinyard, "The Irish on

the Urban Frontier: Detroit, 1850-1880," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1972; Michael Katz, *The People of Hamilton: Canada West* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975); Stephen Thernstrum, *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964); Carl Kaestle and Maris Vinovskis, "Education and Social Change in Nineteenth Century Massachusetts: Quantitative Studies," National Institute of Education, Final Report, December, 1976 (ERIC Document Reproduction Service, No. ED 150 048); Robert Tank and Barbara Schuster, unpublished papers, The University of Michigan.

[7] Some anecdotal information was gathered on whether or not families kept a garden or farmed, owned a sewing machine, had rugs on the floor, etc. We do not know just how rigorously this information was collected and it has not been coded.

[8] The calculation could not be carried out for: (a) families with no children or with more than eight children; (b) families who reported the status of their children as "unknown;" and (c) families for whom the total children listed by age did not match the totals reported by status. This eliminated 989 families from the study. The only serious effect of this was to "truncate" family size at 10 members. Since this effected only 65 families out of the original 3,958, its statistical effects are extremely modest.

[9] These deviance categories involved children older than 13 who were probably still at home. We have not tried to apply our analysis to the few children who were in this category in any case. A more serious question is that of "age-heaping." Demographers are familiar with the tendency of parents in the 19th century to report the ages of their children in even numbers rather than in odd. This appears to also have occurred in the labor commissioner's study but to a lesser extent than in the federal censuses. We estimate that no more than 10 percent of our families followed this practice. The impact of even this much error in age-reporting is no more than $\pm$ 4 percent when translated into school attendance rate differences. We have not tried to correct our data for this error factor, there being no way to know how it cuts across other variables. This should be borne in mind when interpreting our findings. There is, of course, the possibility that when parents reported the age of a five-year-old as six, for example, they also thought of that child as six and made their school attendance decision as if the child *were* six. In this case, "age-heaping" would have no effect on our analysis whatsoever.

[10] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eleventh Federal Census of 1890* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1894); U.S. Bureau of Education, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1889-1890*, Vol. I (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1893).

[11] Forest Chester Ensign, *Compulsory School Attendance and Child Labor* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1921); John Golden, "Children in the Textile Industry," *Child Employing Industries* (New York: National Child Labor Committee, 1918); Elizabeth H. Davidson, *Child Labor Legislation in the Southern Textile States* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1939); A.J. McKelway, "The Cotton Mill: The Herod Among Industries" in *Uniform Child Labor Laws* (New York: National Child Labor Committee, 1911); William F. Ogburn, *Progress and Uniformity in Child-Labor Legislation: A Study in Statistical Measurement*, Vol. XLVIII (New York: Columbia University Press, 1912).

School Entry Decisions of the Families of Textile Workers, 1890

David L. Angus and Barbara A. Hilbert
The University of Michigan

During the past 15 years, the care of young children has become a national public policy question, marked by such controversies as President Nixon's veto of the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1971 because of their child development provisions. As the number of working women in this country passed the 50 percent mark, and as the share of mothers of young children holding jobs passed 40 percent, pressure mounted for federal and state financing of child-care and pre-school services. Opponents argued that any policy which encouraged the mothers of young children to leave them in the care of others was detrimental, both to family life and to the children. This debate continues, but the participants are largely unaware that it is but one variant of a question which has plagued American families for over two centuries: what is the proper age for children to leave the informal nurture of the family and to come under the deliberate instruction of others?

One way to gain understanding of how Americans have answered this question in various eras is to study the age of school entry. Carl Kaestle and Maris Vinovskis have shown that in the early national period, the school attendance rates of five-year-olds was quite high in Massachusetts and New York, and that it was not uncommon for four and even three-year-olds to be enrolled in schools.[1] In the late 1820s, the introduction and spread of infant schools gave an added boost to the schooling of young children. By 1840, nearly 40 percent of three-year-olds in Massachusetts were in school! In the '40s, attendance rates fell sharply under attacks from school officials who wished to bar enrollment of children under five, from physicians who warned of the danger of insanity from the precocious cognitive development of children, and from a rising cult of motherhood in popular magazines.

In the second half of the 19th century, state school codes defined the legal school age for fiscal accounting purposes as beginning at five or six years of age; however none of the new compulsory school attendance laws passed during this period compelled attendance below the age of seven.[2] Thus, within these limits the determination of when a child would begin school was a family decision. Studies of school attendance based on federal and state censuses have shown that the rates among five- and six-year-olds varied widely along ethnic and class lines.

The rise of the Frobelian Kindergarten in the 1850s and its rapid spread after 1880 affected both the availability and quality of schooling for

young children and no doubt increased the pressure on families to send their young children to school.[3] Marvin Lazerson has argued that the kindergarten grew primarily out of a middle-class fear of immigrant groups and was intended to provide early socialization toward distinctly middle-class American mores and values.[4] Robert Tank and Barbara Schuster have shown that the kindergarten movement in Michigan evidenced little concern along this line but was rather an expression of a burgeoning interest in the psychology of children and in their developmental welfare.[5] This debate sharpens the contrast between "negative" and "positive" views of early school entry and forms the backdrop for a host of questions about how families made the school entry decision for their children?

First, did this decision emerge from a complex of values and attitudes rooted in membership within an ethnic group? Some observers have found attendance patterns differing sharply between ethnic groups while others have not. Secondly, to what extent did this decision reflect differences between social classes as defined by occupation and other inferential indicators? Again, studies have produced conflicting results. Thirdly, did the decision hinge on factors internal to the family itself, such as its size, the age of parents, the birth order of children, etc.? Fourthly, was the decision sharply constrained by the economic circumstances of the family, as evidenced by such measures as the father's income, the need or desire of the mother to work outside the home, the income produced by older children and the ratio of expenditure to income? Previous studies have shed almost no light on this question. Finally, since the very concept of a family decision implies the availability of options, how much variation was there between states, between rural and urban areas, between communities, etc.? Studies based on census manuscripts are too geographically limited to provide many clues to these differences.

The 1890 Department of Labor study of family budgets among textile workers provides a unique opportunity to fill some of the gaps in our understanding of how school entry decisions were made. This study focuses on 1,341 children ages five to seven whose school/home status could be determined from the available data. While it is subject to all the limitations discussed above, the opportunity to closely examine the relation of family economic factors to school entry and to gain a national, and even international, perspective for at least one segment of the industrial work force is too great to bypass because of these limitations.

Preliminary Analysis

Regional Variation

The data presented in Table 1.1 show that the school attendance rates

of the young children of textile workers differed widely from place to place. Reflecting an obvious difference in norms, more than half of the five-year-olds in the four European nations included in the study were enrolled in school. The average of their U.S. counterparts was only 12 percent. Even among the seven-year-olds, the European rates were significantly higher. Every single one of the 88 European sevens were enrolled in school!

Attendance rates also differed sharply between regions within the United States, with the mid-Atlantic and New England states leading the southern and border states by substantial margins at each age level. States with compulsory attendance laws had higher rates than those without such laws, even though in only two states, Rhode Island and New Jersey, did the law cover children as young as seven. This difference might result from a factor as obvious as the relative availability of schools or from one as subtle as a more favorable disposition toward schooling in compulsory attendance states, but it is clearly *not* the result of legal compulsion itself.

Ethnicity

Considering the school attendance of young children as essentially a decision for families to make, one might suppose that such decisions would be strongly influenced by ethnic background. Indeed, this is precisely what some other researchers have found. Kaestle and Vinovskis found lower rates among first- and second-generation ethnics in Essex County, Massachusetts in 1880.[6] Vinyard found higher rates among Irish children than among German and native American children in Detroit in 1880.[7]

With some important qualifications, our data do not suggest that the ethnic background of the family's head is strongly influencing its school attendance decision. First, no differences appear in the southern states, where 95 percent of the heads of these families are U.S. born. To know the true effect of ethnicity, therefore, comparisons must be limited to northern states (see Table 1.2). Here, where the ethnic variety is quite rich, some differences appear among the families of five- and six-year-olds, but they are insignificant among those of seven-year-olds. In the case of five-year-olds, those with British-born fathers show the highest rate, with those with native-born fathers closely behind. This is quite consistent with the fact that the attendance rate of this age group in Britain itself is a very high 70 percent. In contrast with this, none of the five-year-olds whose fathers represent the non-English speaking groups, French Canadian and German, were enrolled in school. The two remaining large groups, the English Canadians and the Irish, had similar rates and both were below the average.

This pattern shifts somewhat when we consider the six-year-olds.

Here, the attendance rate for children with native-born fathers ran well above the rates for other groups. Attendance was lowest among the Canadians, both French and English, while the rates for the British, the Irish and the Germans were quite comparable and quite close to the average for all groups. Though we will measure this more carefully later, ethnicity does not seem to be a strong determinant of families' school entry decisions, with the important exception that five-year-olds from non-English speaking groups were simply not in school.

Family Factors

The families of the young children in our study ranged in size from three to 13 members. The fathers ranged in age from 23 to 69 and the mothers from 19 to 64. About a fifth of the households included persons who were not members of the family nucleus. In 14 percent of families, the mother worked outside the home. Forty-five of these families (3 percent) were headed by the mother and in 11 others the father was idle or an invalid. It is reasonable to suppose that such differences may have powerfully affected the decisions families made about the school attendance of their young children; yet these effects prove to be modest, though complex.

Table 1.2

Percent School Attendance of Young Children of Textile Workers by Ethnic Groups, Northern States, 1890

	Age					
	5		6		7	
Ethnicity	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
United States	22	19.8	84	75.0	57	89.1
British	11	22.0	32	62.7	21	84.0
Irish	2	7.5	29	60.4	37	86.0
German	0	0.0	9	60.0	11	91.7
French Canadian	0	0.0	11	42.3	19	95.0
English Canadian	1	7.1	8	50.0	4	80.0
Other	1	12.5	4	66.7	5	100.0

Was the age and/or work status of the mothers of young children strongly related to school attendance decisions? Both Katz and Lazerson have suggested that the school served an important baby-sitting function for low income families in which the mother was forced to work.[8] Our data lend little support to this contention. Furthermore, the image of the southern mill family, with all adult members and the older child member working in the mill, is also not supported here.[9] In only about 10 percent of these families was the mother working and this factor showed a slight *negative* relationship to school attendance. Mothers were nearly four

times as likely to be working in families where the father was absent, idle or an invalid, but the school attendance patterns of this small group of families was virtually identical to the others.

The age of the parents was generally related to school attendance but the effects of this variable were not uniform. In the northern and southern U.S. regions, younger parents sent fewer children to school. European families showed no relationships. Among the families of five-year-olds both the youngest and oldest groups of parents sent fewer children. Among the sixes, younger parents sent fewer, and for the sevens no real differences emerged. Surprisingly, whenever the age of the father and that of the mother were considered separately as predictors, the father's age proved the more powerful indicator.

Nuclear family size showed little relationship to school attendance except in the North, where families with children in school averaged one-half person smaller than those keeping their children at home. This difference was greatest among the seven-year-olds. Total household size was similarly related. When we looked at families including persons other than members of the nuclear unit, we expected to find relationships. The presence of a relative might suggest the availability of help in the care of young children, while the presence of boarders might indicate either economic hardship or the need for additional help from young hands. In the North, we found no relationships. In southern states, the presence of a relative was associated with high rates of attendance while the presence of boarders made little difference. The presence of boarders or relatives in European households, though the number of such instances was small, was strongly associated with low school attendance rates.

Closely related to family and household size is the question of the density of the living quarters, measured as the number of persons per room. Families living in crowded conditions were more likely to keep their young children at home than were families with more adequate living space. Again this difference was greatest among older children and in the South. Except in Europe, it was not present at all among families reporting income from boarders, even though these households had a higher density on average.

Nearly 300 families had more than one child within the five-to-seven age range. These families were about 10 percent more likely to keep their children at home than were families with only one such child. About 40 percent of the children in the study had older siblings who were working, but this factor did not influence whether the young children were at school or at home.

As we said earlier, the influence of family factors is surprisingly modest. Those that did relate to school attendance rates may perhaps be better understood as stemming from economic factors. Large families may, but do not necessarily, have smaller per capita incomes. Crowded living quarters and the presence of boarders and others in the household

may signal economic difficulties. We turn, then, to a discussion of economic variations.

Occupation and Income

Despite the fact that this study is limited to textile workers, there is considerable variation in the skill levels of the specific jobs held. As explained above, we have divided these occupations into four levels ranging from white collar and supervisory to unskilled, with a fifth category including fathers who were idle or an invalid. Taken as a whole, there is a clear positive linear relationship between occupational levels and school attendance rates, with fathers employed at higher levels sending more of their young children to school (see Table 1.3). These differences are not great, however, and they are significant only among certain subgroups. For example, among the European families in the sample, the occupation of the household head has virtually nothing to do with school attendance. In the southern states, the relationship is quite modest and comes into play mainly at the seven year old level. In the North, the relationship is more important, but is again limited to the upper-age range. Contrary to what some other researchers have argued, occupation does not appear here as a major predictor, but it does seem to come into play most at the points where the decision to keep a child out of school deviates most sharply from the prevailing norms. Thus, our finding certainly does not counter different findings by other investigators.[10]

Families with young children in school had incomes that were only 4 percent higher than families who kept their young children at home. The sources of that income, however, varied somewhat. The fathers of school pupils made about 10 percent more than the fathers of stay-at-homes, and their incomes provided 75 percent of the family's total income, compared to 71 percent for the other group. The income of mothers, though small, varied in the opposite direction with mothers of stay-at-homes earning 15 percent more than mothers of school children. This was also true of income from boarders and from other sources, which were nearly twice as high for the families of children who were not in school. Income from older children working is identical for the two groups. In the case of five-year-olds considered separately, the fathers of those in school averaged 10 percent higher than those at home, but the families of this latter group had higher incomes from mothers, working children, and boarders, giving them a total income slightly higher than those with children in school. The sixes and sevens showed patterns that were quite similar to one another. For both groups, families who sent young children to school had higher incomes from fathers and higher total incomes. Income from most of the other sources considered tended to favor the at-home group. Income differences were greatest among the families with six-year-old children.

When we looked at incomes in various regions there were substantial differences, particularly within the United States. Men in the North had incomes about 50 percent higher than those in the South. European incomes were smaller still, but were only about 5 percent below the South. Considering income as a predictor of school attendance within each region, the patterns were the same as those described above, though only a few differences were large enough to be significant. For example, in the northern states both the father's income and the family's total income were significantly higher for those who sent their children to school, while in the South, though these differences were also present, they were too small to be significant. Only the total income per capita was significantly different in these states. In Europe, the income produced by older children who worked was twice as high for those families sending young children to school as for the others. This difference was large enough to make both total family income and per capita income significant predictors as well.

Table 1.3

Percent School Attendance of 5-7 Year Old Children of Textile Workers by Occupation and Father's Income, Three Regions, 1890

	Region								
	Northern U.S.			Southern U.S.			Europe		
Variable	**5**	**6**	**7**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**5**	**6**	**7**
Occupation									
White Collar and Supervisory	27	92	86	0	25	20	43	57	100
Skilled	8	67	89	15	17	83	56	69	100
Semi-skilled	14	48	80	8	19	30	50	65	100
Unskilled	19	46	74	0	14	33	60	69	100
Idle or Invalid		100	100	0	60	50	0	81	100
Unknown	15	73	93		40	75	60		100
Father's Income									
None	0	100	67	0	46	57	100	100	100
1-250	0	47	78	4	20	33	38	56	100
251-350	10	48	82	6	17	50	63	81	100
351-450	14	49	82	8	0	64	63	73	100
451-550	14	71	87	0	25	100	71	77	100
Over 550	20	77	94	17	50	57	50	83	100

The effects of income on families' school attendance decisions were real and important, though not always in the ways one might expect. In the North, the father's income was a powerful indicator, while in Europe, it was income produced by working children that divided the two groups. In southern states, income measures were less important indices of school attendance.

Economic Welfare and Expenditure Factors

The richness of the cost-of-living data set permits us to go beyond income to consider other measures of economic welfare and to look at how these families actually spent their income. For example, home ownership is clearly an indicator of economic well being. Only about 10 percent of textile workers owned their own homes, while an additional 10 percent lived rent-free in company housing. Among the families of young children, the percentage of home ownership was even lower, 8 percent. Furthermore, when we looked at home ownership in relation to school attendance, it appeared to make no difference whatever. When we noticed that the number of families spending on property insurance was larger than the number owning homes, we decided to take the property insurance as an indicator of material assets. This also proved to have no relationship to whether or not families sent their young children to school.

To analyze whether the spending patterns of families who sent their children to school differed from those who did not, we divided family spending into eight categories: food, housing, clothing, insurance, contributions (to organizations such as labor unions and churches), leisure, medical care, and miscellaneous. To help control for differences in income between families, we expressed these expenditures as the percent of total expenditures spent in each category. On average, families spent just under half their budget for food, 20 percent for housing, 15 percent for clothing, about 4 percent each for leisure, health care and miscellaneous, and the remainder for insurance and contributions.

When we compared the spending patterns of the two groups of families, few differences emerged. Overall, the families of children in school spent a bit more on clothing, contributions and leisure and less on medical care and miscellaneous expenses than families of the non-attending children. Spending in the other categories was nearly identical. This is not surprising. At a time when school-provided meals were virtually unknown, it cost as much to feed a given family when the children were in school as when they were not. The same can be said of housing. Clothing and leisure, in contrast, are more discretionary categories. A family might need to spend more on the clothing of children in school and might choose to spend more on leisure. Medical expenses are more difficult to categorize, depending on the cost and availability of medical care, the frequency of illness, etc. Uniformly, families with children at home spent more on medical care than families with children at school, at each age level and within each region. Was this because they

more often experienced illness or because they simply spent more when they were ill? While the 17 percent of all families who spent nothing in this category had significantly higher school attendance rates at all ages, this difference disappeared when region was controlled. With these families left out of the calculation, the difference in spending for medical care was significant only in the northern states.

Another measure of family economic welfare is the ratio of income to total expenditures. One of our families spent only 47 percent of what it earned in a year, while another spent more than three times what it earned. A comparison of these ratios showed that only among the sixes and sevens and only in the United States were they significantly more favorable for those families sending children to school.

When we looked more closely at some specific expenditure items, additional differences appeared. Overall, families with children in school spent more on labor organizations, books and newspapers, amusements, and intoxicating liquors and less on tobacco than those who kept their children at home. Of these differences in expenditures, only books and newspapers and liquors were consistent at each separate age. With region controlled, most of them disappeared altogether. In the South, no differences in expenditures were significant. In the North, the percent spent on books and newspapers was a strong predictor. In Europe, families with children in school spent more on charity, as well as on books, newspapers, and labor organizations; but even this may be an artifact of Britain's higher school attendance and higher expenditures in these categories.

Regression Analysis

What is the relative importance of those variables we have found to be significantly associated with school attendance? To determine this, we have used Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA), a form of regression in which the dependent variable can be dichotomous while the predictor variables are categorical and not necessarily ordinal.[11] Unlike conventional multiple regression formulas, MCA tolerates intercorrelation between variables, though it is insensitive to interaction and will not run to completion when there is a perfect match between individual levels of two or more variables.

In mapping our analysis strategy a number of considerations came into play. First, given the very large *regional* differences which our preliminary analysis established, we decided to analyze the three regions separately. While this strategy avoids the pitfall of interpreting a variable to be a predictor of school attendance when it is actually only a predictor of region, it introduces a distortion of another sort. The age range which appears as the period during which families made a school entry decision may not be the same in each region (see Table 1.1). Thus, our second decision was to study a different age range in each region, 5-7 for the North, 6-8 for the South, and 4-6 for Europe. Finally, since the factors we

have considered thus far can be coded in many different ways for analysis purposes, we carried out many MCA runs with different forms and combinations of variables. Our optimum MCA runs, presented here in Tables 2.1 to 2.4, were the result of applying three principles: (1) to maximize the total explained variance (R^2, adjusted for degrees of freedom); (2) to do this with the smallest number of predictor variables and classes within variables; and (3) to avoid using two variables which measure much the same things (such as both nuclear family size and household size, or father's income and total family income).

MCA results are best displayed in paired tables. One indicates the mean value of the dependent variable for each sub-class of each predictor considered alone and the adjusted mean for each sub-class when all other variables are taken into account (Tables 2.1-2.3). In these tables we have coded the dependent variable so that these means can be read as the percentage of the children in each sub-class who are enrolled in school. The second table displays the strength of the relation of each predictor variable to the dependent variable considered alone (eta^2), and the relative strength of each taken in combination with the others (beta). Also included is the total variance explained by each particular combination of variables (R^2 (adj.)). Table 2.4 displays these results for all three regions.

The North

In the northern United States, woolen mill workers had both better working conditions and higher wages than cotton mill workers. Table 2.1 shows that they had higher school attendance rates as well, about 20 percent higher, making industry the second best predictor of school attendance of children aged five to seven. The specific occupational level of the father was also a strong predictor, with the children of white collar and supervisory employees attending school at a rate 20 percent higher than those of other skill levels. The father's income was a somewhat weaker predictor than occupational level, showing a weak, but linear, relationship between income and school attendance.

Two family variables proved significant in the northern region, the size of the nuclear family and the ages of the parents, this latter the much stronger predictor. With other variables controlled (adjusted means), the parents' ages showed a curvilinear relationship to school attendance, with both the youngest and the oldest parents of 5-7 year olds less likely to send them to school than parents of middle age. The size of the nuclear family also showed a curvilinear, though weak, relationship, with families of five or six members more likely to send children to school than either smaller or larger families. Of course some of these small families were single-parent families, and we earlier remarked on the slight tendency for such families to keep their children at home.

Of all the expenditure variables we have investigated, only medical

expenses were related to school attendance in this region. This should not be a surprising connection. Either the economic hardship imposed by high medical expenses or illness itself could well induce families to keep their young children home from school. Whatever the reasons, this factor proved to be a more important indicator of school attendance than either the father's income or the size of the nuclear family.

The South

Turning to the southern region, we found several of these factors playing powerful roles in the school entry decisions of textile workers. Since all the southern mill workers in the cost-of-living data set were cotton workers, the industry variable is left out of our calculation. However, both the ages of the parents and the occupation and income of the father appear to be as important as they were in the northern region. Though the pattern is slightly different, we again see the tendency for both younger and older parents to keep their children at home more readily than middle-aged parents. Except for skilled workers, lower paid workers sent fewer children to school than higher paid workers in each job skill level, but, irrespective of income, the children of white collar and supervisory employees were less likely to be in school than those of skilled or unskilled workers.

Other factors which proved significant in this region were the expenditures for the parents' clothing, the ratio of the family's total income to their total expenditures and the density of their living conditions. All of these factors, and we can include occupation and income, are indicators of the economic welfare of families. Taken together, they provide firm evidence that the school entry decisions of southern mill families were powerfully influenced by their economic circumstances. Except possibly for those at the very top of the pyramid, the poorer the family the more likely they were to keep their young children at home.

Europe

In our four European countries, differences between the cotton and woolen sectors of the textile industry again proved significant, but not so powerful as in the northern United States. More important were differences in attendance rates between the countries. The rates in Great Britain were more than three times those in Germany and Switzerland. We cannot be certain that this difference is not an artifact of the way in which families were "sampled." (Note the disparity of n's.)

The family level factors which predict school attendance in Europe are quite different from those found to be important in the U.S. The composition of the family, and in particular, the presence of someone not a member of the nuclear unit, was negatively associated with school attendance. The percent of total family expenditures allotted to contribu-

tions showed a strong positive relation to school attendance. As indicated earlier, this seems to be the result of the combination of two factors, the high attendance rate in Britain and the fact that this was the only country in which textile workers were highly unionized by 1890. Yet even in Britain the association was positive. Two few Europeans were homeowners to include them in this analysis, but we discovered that those who lived rent-free in company housing had much higher school attendance than those who paid rent. It's quite possible that those mills which provided free employee housing also made provision for the schooling of young children, as Robert Owen had done 60 years earlier in New Lanaark, Scotland. Expenditures for parents' clothing was a relatively strong perdictor of school attendance but the relationship ran in a direction opposite of what we found in the southern states, where this factor was also significant. Those European families spending more than 10 percent of their total expenditures on clothing sent fewer children to school than others.

The father's income and occupational level showed a curious relationship to school attendance. On the face of it, they both appeared to be somewhat negatively related. When we looked closely at Britain alone, which provided 193 of the 304 cases in this analysis, the relation of occupation to school attendance was indeed negative, with children of white collar and supervisory employees attending school at only about half the rate (35 percent) of those of unskilled employees (69 percent). The relationship to income, however, was curvilinear, with both high paid and low paid employees sending more young children to school than middle income fathers. Thus, in the case of both of these variables, the European pattern more resembles that of southern states than of northern states.

Conclusions

Just as the school attendance rates of young children varied widely from place to place, so did the factors which seem to best account for families' school entry decisions. In Europe, where the norm was clearly early school entry (4-6), a complex of family and economic factors resists any clear interpretation of why certain families withheld their children from school. In the northern United States, where school entry decisions were made at roughly the same ages as they are made today (5-7), family factors, and most particularly the age of the parents provide the best single interpretation of the decision making. Finally, in southern states, with poor school facilities and low school attendance, the economic circumstances of families clearly were the determinant factors in the school entry decisions of the mill workers.

Table 2.1

School Attendance of the Young Children of Textile Workers, Northern States, 1890

Predictor	n	Class Mean	Adj. Class Mean	Net Deviation
Age				
5	287	13.6	14.2	+ 0.6
6	293	62.1	62.0	− 0.1
7	200	85.5	84.8	− 0.7
Industry				
Cotton	453	42.2	41.5	− 0.7
Woolen	327	61.5	62.3	+ 0.8
Occupation				
White Collar & Supervisory	41	65.9	61.2	− 4.7
Skilled	205	45.9	57.2	+16.3
Semi-skilled	171	43.3	50.9	+ 7.6
Unskilled	134	44.8	51.0	+ 6.2
Unknown	229	59.8	41.2	+18.6
Father's Income				
None	9	55.6	48.9	− 6.7
1-250	42	35.7	44.9	+ 9.2
251-350	133	48.1	46.6	− 1.5
351-450	215	41.4	47.3	+ 5.9
451-550	174	51.1	53.3	+ 2.2
Over 550	207	62.8	54.3	− 8.5
Nuclear Family Size				
2-4	137	37.2	46.2	+ 9.0
5-6	354	53.7	53.8	+ 0.1
7 and above	289	52.2	47.9	− 4.3
Parents' Age				
F, 20-30; M, 20-40	125	25.6	38.5	+12.9
F, 31-40; M, 20-30	115	54.8	50.8	− 4.0
F, 31-40; M, 31-40	249	57.8	55.7	− 2.1
F, over 40; M, under 40	125	51.2	53.2	+ 2.0
F, over 40; M, over 40	143	53.1	48.2	− 4.9
Unknown	23	56.5	49.3	− 7.2
Medical Expenses (Percent of Total Expenditures)				
None	291	54.6	52.1	− 2.5
.01-1.00	168	57.1	54.5	− 2.6
1.01-3.00	147	46.3	48.7	+ 2.4
3.01-5.00	87	40.2	43.8	+ 3.6
Over 5.00	87	39.1	45.0	+ 5.9
Totals	780	50.3		

Table 2.2

School Attendance of the Young Children of Textile Workers, Southern States, 1890

Predictor	n	Class Mean	Adj. Class Mean	Net Deviation
Age				
6	73	19.2	20.1	+ 0.9
7	72	47.2	46.8	− 0.4
8	71	71.8	71.3	− 0.5
Occupation/Income				
Low Supervisory	8	12.5	12.7	+ 0.2
High Supervisory	11	54.5	34.4	−20.1
Low Skilled	15	66.7	75.3	+ 8.6
High Skilled	39	43.6	47.8	+ 4.2
Low Semi-skilled	34	32.4	33.6	+ 1.2
High Semi-skilled	10	60.0	72.6	+12.6
Low Unskilled	68	39.7	43.0	+ 3.3
High Unskilled	13	53.8	41.9	−11.9
Unknown	18	77.8	60.8	−17.0
Parents' Age				
M, 20-30; F, 20-30	27	25.9	20.6	− 5.3
M, 20-30; F, 31-50	26	34.6	34.1	− 0.5
M, 31-40; F, 20-40	52	46.2	43.2	− 3.0
M, 31-40; F, over 40	28	64.3	68.3	+ 4.0
M, over 40; F, any age	60	41.7	48.6	+ 6.9
Unknown	23	69.6	60.0	− 9.6
Parents' Clothing Expenditure (Percent of Total Expenditures)				
.01-4.50	58	50.0	40.8	− 9.2
4.51-7.00	72	38.9	38.0	− 0.9
7.01-10.00	52	42.3	49.1	+ 6.8
Over 10.00	34	58.8	66.0	+ 7.2
Income/Expenditure Ratio				
Savers	68	54.4	59.3	+ 4.9
Evens	93	43.0	41.3	− 1.7
Debtors	55	40.0	36.8	− 3.2
Living Density (In Persons Per Room)				
.01-1.00	8	75.0	79.6	+ 4.6
1.01-1.50	26	61.5	52.4	− 9.1
1.51-2.00	62	48.4	49.4	+ 1.0
Over 2.00	72	37.5	38.6	+ 1.1
Unknown	48	41.7	42.9	+ 1.2
Totals	216	27 45.8		

Table 2.3

School Attendance of the Young Children of Textile Workers, Four European Countries, 1890

Predictor	n	Class Mean	Adj. Class Mean	Net Deviation
Age				
4	98	21.4	23.4	+ 2.0
5	83	56.6	54.4	− 2.2
6	123	73.2	73.1	− 0.1
Industry				
Cotton	204	47.1	50.7	+ 3.6
Woolen	100	62.0	54.5	− 7.5
Country				
France	70	47.1	47.1	0.0
Germany	22	18.2	16.5	− 1.7
Britain	193	61.1	60.9	− 0.2
Switzerland	19	15.8	19.9	+ 4.1
Occupation				
White Collar & Supervisory	20	40.0	59.3	+19.3
Skilled	91	49.5	40.0	− 9.5
Semi-skilled	64	46.9	47.9	+ 1.0
Unskilled	20	55.0	50.0	− 5.0
Unknown	109	58.7	59.3	+ 0.6
Father's Income				
None	4	75.0	74.7	− 0.3
1-250	82	37.8	58.9	+21.1
251-350	96	59.4	54.6	− 4.8
351-450	81	54.3	42.2	−12.1
451-550	30	60.0	52.0	− 8.0
Over 550	11	45.5	41.1	− 4.4
Housing Status				
Free	45	73.3	62.0	−13.3
Rent	259	48.3	50.2	+ 1.9
Parents' Clothing (Percent of Total Expenditure)				
.01-4.50	39	64.1	55.3	− 8.8
4.51-7.00	98	55.1	53.6	− 1.5
7.01-10.00	96	60.4	59.4	− 1.0
Over 10.00	71	29.6	38.0	+ 8.4

Contributions (Percent of Total Expenditure)				
None	113	42.5	47.7	+ 5.2
.01-1.00	56	41.1	44.8	+ 3.7
1.01-3.00	77	62.3	54.6	− 7.7
Over 3.00	58	67.2	63.8	− 3.4
Family Composition				
Small Nuclear (2-4)	65	41.5	44.9	+ 3.4
Medium Nuclear (5-6)	136	60.3	57.2	− 3.1
Large Nuclear (7+)	76	59.2	53.1	− 6.1
Extended with Boarder	13	15.4	28.4	+13.0
Extended with Other Relative	8	25.0	47.2	+22.2
Extended with Boarder & Relative	6	0.0	52.5	+52.5
Totals	304	52.0		

Table 2.4

School Attendance of the Young Children of Textile Workers in Three Regions, 1890, ETAs², BETAs, and Rs²

	North		South		Europe	
Predictor	**Eta² (adj.)**	**Beta**	**Eta² (adj.)**	**Beta**	**Eta² (adj.)**	**Beta**
Age	.345	.578	.179	.420	.190	.423
Industry	.035	.205			.016	.036
Occupation	.019	.131			.001	.119
Parents' Age	.042	.116	.048	.275		
Medical Expenses	.018	.073				
Father's Income	.024	.071			.019	.144
Nuclear Family Size	.012	.066				
Occupation/Income			.051	.275		
Parents' Clothing Expenses			.006	.194	.055	.162
Income/Expenditure Ratio			.005	.187		
Living Density			.018	.168		
Country					.080	.291
Family Composition					.063	.138
Contributions Expenditure					.041	.134
Housing Status					.029	.083
	R^2 (adj.) = .400		R^2 (adj.) = .310		R^2 (adj.) = .340	

Footnotes

[1] Carl Kaestle and Maris Vinovskis, "Education and Social Change in Nineteenth Century Massachusetts: Quantitative Studies," National Institute of Education, Final Report, December, 1976 (ERIC Document Reproduction Service, NO. ED 150 048), pp. 197-211.

[2] U.S. Bureau of Education, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1890-1891*, Vol. I (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1894), pp. 34-37.

[3] The number of children reported attending kindergarten in 1888 was more than three times as great as in 1880. By 1892, kindergarten enrollment had doubled again. Most of this growth was in northern states, however. Virginia, Alabama, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee reported no public kindergartens even by 1892. See the *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1890-1891*, Vol. I (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1894), pp. 777-783.

[4] Marvin Lazerson, *Origins of the Urban School: Public Education in Massachusetts, 1870-1915* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971).

[5] Robert Tank and Barbara Schuster, unpublished papers, The University of Michigan.

[6] Carl Kaestle and Maris Vinovskis, "From Fireside to Factory: School Entry and School Learning in Nineteenth Century Massachusetts, *Transitions*, ed. Tamara Haroven (New York: Academic Press, 1978), pp. 163-166.

[7] Jo Ellen Vinyard, "The Irish on the Urban Frontier: Detroit, 1850-1880," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1972.

[8] Michael Katz, "Who Went to School?" *History of Education Quarterly* (Fall, 1972).

[9] According to the 1890 census, only 15 percent of the women working in either woolen or cotton mills were married.

[10] See Michael Katz's article, in particular.

[11] Frank M. Andrews, *et al.*, *Multiple Classification Analysis: A Report on a Computer Program for Multiple Regression Using Categorical Variables* (Ann Arbor, MI.: Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, 1973).

School Leaving by the Children of Textile Workers, 1890

David L. Angus and Jeffery E. Mirel
The University of Michigan

One of the most lively, ongoing debates among educational historians concerns the patterns of school leaving of teenage children in the 19th century. In studies using a variety of quantitative methods these historians have examined numerous factors, hoping to identify those which seem to have had the greatest influence on when teenagers left school and entered the work force.[1] As thorough and as wide-ranging as those studies have been, however, all have encountered one major obstacle in their attempt to reconstruct a true picture of 19th century family life, the lack of specific data that links family income to children's school or work status. Restricted to census material, school registers, tax rolls and city directories, educational historians have had to rely on a variety of social indicators like property owned, numbers of servants and, most often, occupation to infer economic status. This study is based on a different data source which offers a richly detailed picture of the income and consumption patterns of the families of 3,958 textile workers in 1890. To facilitate the study we have focused on the 1,267 children between the ages of 12 and 14 because, as Table 1.1 shows, it was in those years that the transition from student to worker overwhelmingly took place.

Although most previous studies have found that by the late 19th century schooling was nearly universal for children between seven and 12, historians have differed sharply over the reasons behind continued attendance beyond those years. More often than not father's occupation has been found to be the key predictor. But other facotrs like the child's sex, ethnic and cultural differences, rural or urban residence, family size, and even home ownership have emerged as significant elements in the school or work decision. The information in the U.S. labor commissioner's survey can provide insights into the influence of almost all those social determinants and several others as well. As noted earlier, the income data in the survey offer a rare opportunity to test not only the importance of earnings on school or work decisions but provide a chance to gauge whether there are significant differences between income and occupation as predictors of school attendance. Equally important is that the U.S. labor commissioner's survey includes information on families in 19 U.S. states and four western European countries. While previous studies have compared data from areas as large as a single county none have had the chance to look at regional differences in school attendance rates. We will turn first to a discussion of the importance of that variable.

Regional Factors

As Table 1.1 shows, the region in which a family lived had a dramatic effect on the likelihood of whether a 12- to 14-year-old child would be at school or at work. Although school attendance for 12-year-olds in our sample is generally high, the differences by region are striking. In New England and the mid-Atlantic states virtually all the 12-year-olds were in school while in the South and border states only some two-thirds were still at their desks. For 13-year-olds, four-fifths of the New England children and over two-thirds of those in the mid-Atlantic region were listed at school, but fewer than a fifth in the South and a third in the border states were in the same position. By age 14, a third of the children in New England and almost half of those in the mid-Atlantic states were still in school while their agemates in the South and border states had attendance rates below a 10th and a fifth, respectively. Among European families, rates of school attendance were similar to those of the northern United States, except that more European 13-year-olds were working. There are, of course, several ready explanations for these findings. Not only were schools more numerous in the northeast during this era but, by 1890, schooling itself had been a social norm for several generations in that region where it was not in the South or border states.

Certainly another important consideration in explaining the large regional differences were the existence of compulsory school laws. By 1890, all five of the New England states included in the study, New York and New Jersey, and all four European countries had enacted compulsory school legislation.[2] The laws varied in both stringency and in the ages of children required to be at school. Also, educators in this period often complained about flaws in legislation and the difficulties of enforcing these laws.[3] Nevertheless, they appear to have made a difference. Almost all of the 12-year-olds, over 75 percent of the 13-year-olds, and nearly 40 percent of the 14-year-olds were in school in compulsory attendance states, compared to only 75 percent, 33 percent, and 19 percent for their respective agemates in the non-compulsory states. Those percentages suggest that while large numbers of 13- and 14-year-olds were working illegally in compulsory states, the presence of the law was clearly associated with the higher school persistence rates among teenagers.[4] Two non-compulsory states that did not fit this trend, however, were Pennsylvania and Delaware, which had attendance rates almost identical to the compulsory states. In the case of Pennsylvania, which did enact compulsory legislation in 1895, what we may be observing is a tendency for legislation to follow rather than create patterns of behavior in relation to school attendance.

Occupation and Income

One of the most consistent conclusions drawn from research into 19th

century school attendance is that the higher a father's occupational status the more schooling his children would get.[5] Although most of the over 100 occupations listed for the fathers of the children in our sample are related to the textile industry, they represent a wide range of skill levels. Using the U.S. Department of Labor's 1918 pamphlet, *Descriptions of Occupations: Textiles and Clothing*, those occupations were coded into four skill levels: supervisory and white collar, skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled, and those classified as idle or invalids.[6] The rates of school attendance for the total 12- to 14-year-old population dropped from a high of 73 percent for children of the supervisory employees to a low of 35 percent for those children whose fathers were idle or invalids, falling almost 10 percent per occupational skill level. The same pattern held true for each age considered separately with the sharpest distinction at age 14, with 52 percent of the level one children attending school (almost twice the overall mean rate) compared to only 14 percent of the level five children.

The relationship between occupation and school attendance was slightly altered when region was held constant. In the North, although the supervisory and white collar group sent 88 percent of its 12- to 14-year-olds to school (about 20 percent more than the overall mean), the next four skill levels sent almost equal percentages of their children to school, roughly 64 percent. In the South, the 12- to 14-year-old children of the supervisory and skilled workers were almost twice as likely to be in school (with rates of about 50 percent) as were the children in the three lower categories. It is worth noting that the attendance rates of the children of the highest level workers in the South were still going to school at a lower rate than the children of the lowest skill category in the North! The data suggest that while differences in occupational skill levels clearly influenced who went to school those differences were most important in the South where schooling was not the norm. In Europe, the father's occupation level was less important than in the U.S. with children of supervisory employees actually attending school at a lower rate than the children of the next three skill levels, of whom roughly two-thirds were in school.

Thus far our analysis has paralleled previous studies, which have looked at the relationship between occupation and school attendance. The income data in the U.S. labor commissioner's survey permit us to go several steps farther. The survey provides figures on earnings from a variety of sources including husbands, wives, children, boarders and lodgers, income from miscellaneous areas, as well as total family income. When we looked at all the 12- to 14-year-olds in the sample we found that only fathers', children's, and total income were significantly related to school attendance. Our analysis focused on fathers' income not only because it provided the largest single contribution to the family total in almost every case but also because children's earnings and total family

income which included those earnings could not possibly be independent of the school or work decision.

Fathers' income proved to have a very significant relationship to school attendance. For all the ages combined, and for each age separately, the income of the fathers of school children was markedly higher than the income for those fathers with working children. Region in this case made no difference with precisely the same relationships appearing in all three areas. Not surprisingly, total children's income was higher at every age and in every region for families with 12- to 14-year-old working children than for those with children in school. More interesting was that at every age 12- to 14-year-old working children were much more likely to have siblings (probably older) who were also working. It is possible that in those families a pattern of early school-leaving already had been set or that the income from the other children could not make up for the earnings the families would have to forego if the 12- to 14-year-olds stayed in school. Some credence can be found for that second possibility, for again every region and at every age higher children's income corresponded to lower father's income suggesting that the families needed the children's wages to supplement generally low take-home pay of the father.

The importance of income was further demonstrated when we considered the relationship between school attendance, income, and occupation. Within each occupational level, fathers whose children were in school had significantly higher incomes than those whose children were at work! Once more, region made no difference with the same patterns appearing at every level in all regions.

Our analysis of the income data in the U.S. labor commissioner's survey points to several trends. Wives' income, income from boarders, and income from miscellaneous sources seem unrelated to the school or work status of the 12- to 14-year-olds in our sample.Children's income was not only related to the working status of these children but also provided a clue into the dynamics of the family lives of many of the children. Working 12- to 14-year-olds were more likely to be joining siblings in the labor force than were their school-going agemates. Finally, father's income had the most significant relationship to the school or work status of the children. In many ways our analysis bears out the claims of early 19th century union leaders and child labor reformers who saw the exploitation of children particularly in the South as a direct result of the low wages paid to household heads.[7]

Ethnicity

One of the other factors that educational historians have consistently examined in seeking determinants of school attendance has been ethnicity. There exists a significant body of literature on the attendance rates of

most of the ethnic groups in our sample, particularly the British, Irish and Germans. Not surprisingly, historians have disagreed on the effects ethnicity may have in determining early or late school-leaving. Merle Curti's study of Trempealeau County found that, in 1870, British and Canadians led all ethnic groups in total school attendance (81 percent), followed by the Irish and U.S. born (both over 70 percent), Germans (59 percent) and then all other European groups.[8] Jo Ellen Vinyard's study of Detroit in the 1880s, which included data on 12-15 year-olds, found that ethnicity was an important factor, with children from U.S. born parents attending school at very high rates (almost 90 percent for those aged 12-13 *and* those aged 14-15) while the Irish were sending about 90 percent of their 12-13's but only about half of their 14-15 year-olds and the Germans were sending three-quarters of their 12-13's but only one-quarter of the 14-15 year-olds.[9] Michael Katz's work on Hamilton, Ontario found that ethnicity had some effect on when children entered the workforce but not nearly so much influence as wealth and/or parental occupation.[10] More recently, in their study of Essex County, Massachusetts, Carl Kaestle and Maris Vinovskis demonstrated that ethnicity was an important predictor of the age of school-leaving with children of foreign-born parents leaving school earlier than those whose parents were U.S. born.[11]

On the surface our sample of 12- to 14-year-olds shows far greater school attendance rates for children whose parents were foreign-born than for those of native U.S. stock. What is misleading in looking at the overall sample, however, is that over 95 percent of the foreign-born families lived in the North, which as we have shown had the highest attendance rates of any region. Thus, to get a clearer picture of the effects of ethnicity, we concentrated only on children in the northern states. For those children the patterns were quite different, with the U.S.-born 12- to 14-year-olds leading all groups with a rate of almost 80 percent, followed by the Germans and British (both of which sent over 70 percent) and then the Irish, English Canadians, and French Canadians, who sent just over 60 percent. Broken down by age, we found that among 12-year-olds ethnicity made no difference, with every group sending almost all their children to school. For 13-year-olds the Germans, U.S.-born, and French and English Canadians sent over 80 percent of their children while the British and the Irish dropped to sending only some two-thirds of their children to school. By age 14 better than half the U.S.-born children were still at their desks, followed by the British who sent just under half, the Irish who sent about 40 percent, and the Germans who were sending only about a third (see Table 1.3). Among the French and English Canadians the extremely low percentage of school attendance of 14-year-olds (11 and 7 percent respectively) seems to indicate that those groups generally chose to end their children's education at age 13.

Ethnicity obviously made some difference in attendance rates, particularly when considered along U.S.-born/foreign-born lines. At ages 13

and 14, children from U.S.-born families were more likely to be in school than their British and Irish agemates, and at 14 were far more likely to be there than the Germans. The British and the Irish sent significant numbers of children to school at both 13 and 14, while the Germans (as in the Vinyard study) and Canadians appeared to be ending their children's education between ages 13 and 14.

Table 1.3

Percent School Attendance of 12-14 Year Old Children of Textile Workers by Ethnic Background, 1890

Birthplace of Father	Age 12		13		14	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
United States	79	96	43	81	57	54
Britain	45	98	42	69	42	45
Ireland	47	94	51	65	64	39
Germany	21	100	7	86	15	33
Canada — French	24	96	16	88	26	12
Canada — English	9	100	12	83	11	9
Other	6	100	6	67	7	14
Totals	231		177		222	

Individual and Family Factors

In recent years, one of the most vigorous branches of social history has been life course analysis, a refinement of an earlier approach utilizing the concept of the family cycle. Life course analysis seeks to understand personal development as a manifestation of changes in the network of family relations as families pass through cycles, and to understand family cycles themselves as an interplay between changing needs and the socio-historical circumstances of family life. The best example of this approach applied to school leaving is the study by Kaestle and Vinovskis mentioned earlier. Based on this work, there was some reason to believe that differences in family level variables might relate strongly to school attendance.

The clearest single indicator of family cycles is the age of the parents. Careful attention to these variables, both singly and in combination, revealed no significant relation to school attendance in any region or for any age. The size and composition of the family proved more interesting. Families whose teenagers remained in school were 0.6 persons smaller than those whose children were at work, and their households were nearly

one person smaller. Differences in family and household size were greatest among the 12-year-olds, where the households of working children were 2.5 persons larger. Considered by region, these differences were large in both the northern and southern U.S., but did not appear among the European families.

As indicated earlier, about 10 percent of the families of textile workers were extended beyond the nuclear unit. This figure was much higher (30 percent) for the families of 12-14 year old children. On average, the teenagers from these families were more likely to be at work. Where distinctions could be made, families that took in boarders were less likely to keep their kids in school than those whose households included a relative (see Table 1.3).

Some families had *more* than one child falling within the age range we have studied. Thirty percent of the families had two such children and two percent had three. Only in northern states did this factor bear on the question of school attendance, where children with no sibling in our age range were considerably more likely to be in school than those with one or two siblings.

The absence of a father or the presence of a father who brought in no income were another set of variables we considered. Only 6 percent of the children in our sample were from households in that situation and not surprisingly their rates of school attendance were lower. Although the difference in school attendance between those children and children from two-parent families was negligible at age 12, by age 14 only 7 percent of the children of "female-headed households" were in school, less than a quarter of the rate for other children.

The picture was slightly altered in families with working mothers. About 8 percent of the women in our study were listed as being employed. In our overall sample of children there were virtually no differences in the rates of school attendance at any age for children of working mothers. In female-headed households, however, the impact of a working mother *was* significant. Those women were four times more likely to be working than the average and their children were more likely to be in school particularly at ages 12 and 13 when compared to the children of single mothers who did not work. All of the 12-year-olds and three-quarters of the 13-year-olds of single working mothers attended school as opposed to 80 percent of the twelves and just a third of the 13 of the non-working single mothers. Although the number of women we considered is small it appears that the wages brought in by single mothers enabled them to forego the incomes of their 12- and 13-year-old children so that they could get one or perhaps two additional years of schooling.

Closely related to family size, yet linking to other variables such as income and expenditures was the living "density" of the homes of these families. We measured this factor as the number of persons per room and

compared the density of those homes whose children were at school or at work. Almost uniformly across ages and regions, children in school came from less crowded living quarters than those at work.

Besides the age of the child, the only other individual-level variable we were able to test was gender. In no region and at no age were the differences in school attendance rates between boys and girls great enough to be statistically significant. Most of the small differences observed favored girls. Certainly one reason that gender did not prove significant was the fact that both boys and girls were able to readily find work in the textile industry.

Home Ownership and Family Expenditures

The data in the U.S. labor commissioner's survey permit us to look at several factors that provide a glimpse into the economic welfare of the textile workers in our sample; those are home ownership, expenditure patterns, and the family's overall financial situation. Both Merle Curti's and Stephen Thernstrom's pioneering studies in quantitative history looked at the relationship between home ownership and school attendance. They arrived at different conclusions, however, with Curti demonstrating a high correlation between property owned and high rates of school attendance while Thernstrom noted that early school-leaving, particularly by Irish, seem to relate to their families' needs for children's incomes to enable them to purchase homes.[12] Only about 10 percent of the families in our study owned homes but for that group school attendance ran extremely high. Virtually all the 12-year-olds from homeowning families were in school, about 12 percent more than the children whose parents were not homeowners. Over 80 percent of the 13-year-olds and nearly 60 percent of the 14-year-olds whose families owned homes were in school, compared to only 50 percent and just over 25 percent for their respective agemates whose families rented (see Table 1.3).

In addition to data on homeownership the U.S. labor commissioner's survey contained detailed information on a variety of expenditures on items which included money spent for food, housing, leisure activities, clothing, insurance, contributions to organizations, and medical costs.[13] There were some differences in the expenditure patterns of families with working children and those with children in school. In general, the major differences were that families with children in school spent more on housing (probably corresponding to the fewer people per room ratio we noted earlier) and less on food (corresponding to smaller nuclear families, and fewer boarders and lodgers) than the families with children working. Those patterns were pretty much maintained when region, children's age, and income were controlled. Indeed, it appears that the general percentages spent in the several categories were quite similar for most of the families.

The data in the survey also enabled us to determine if the families were living within their means. We divided them into three groups — savers, budget balancers, and debtors — to see if those factors had any impact on school attendance.[14] For the total sample of 12-14-year-olds there was little difference between the groups, although savers were slightly ahead in percentages of children in school. There were no differences in the attendance rates for 12-year-olds. At 13, however, the budget balancers and debtors sent slightly more of their children to school than the savers. The pattern shifted again at 14 with the savers sending about 10 percent more of their children to school than the other two groups.

When we controlled for region we found that the family's financial situation had little importance in the North, especially for 12- and 13-year-olds. At 14 the children of savers and budget balancers had about a 10 percent edge in school attendance over the children of debtors. In the South, the children of savers had a slight educational advantage over those from the other groups at every age although it was most pronounced at ages 12 and 14. Children of debtors in the South were clearly the most likely of any group to be at work. But by age 13 only some 20 percent of the children from any category in the South were in school which was a full 10 percent lower than the lowest rate in the North. In Europe a totally different pattern emerged with the children of debtors more likely to be in school than those of the other two groups. As in the northern United States there was little difference at age 12. At age 13 the children of those who broke even and of the debtors were twice as likely to be in school as children of the savers. Only at age 14 did we find substantial percentages of the savers' children in school but still at rates below the children of debtors. At that age children of both savers and debtors were over four times more likely to be in school than were the children from families that broke even.

Although we found some relationship between the family's income and its income/expenditure ratio, it is clear that these two variables do not measure the same thing. Each income quintile had its savers and debtors. When we analyzed the relation of the ratio to school attendance while controlling for income, the results were much the same as those just reported. Among economic welfare factors, then, homeownership was a more important predictor of school attendance than either the way families spent their income or whether or not they were able to live within their means.

Multi-Variate Analysis

The prospects awaiting the adolescent children of the textile workers in our study differed in each of the regions we have examined. Children in the South entered the work force easily and early while their northern and European agemates were more likely to remain in school or, at least, were found to circumvent compulsory attendance laws once the work decision

was made. Yet as important as were the distinctions between the regions, within each region different factors seemed to have influenced when the children would leave school and enter the working world. How much of the decision was the child's or how much of it was determined by the parents, we can never know. But what our data can provide is a picture of the context in which the decisions were made. One way to get a better picture of the interrelationship between the factors that had a bearing on these children's lives was through the use of multiple classification analysis.

Multiple classification analysis is a form of multiple regression which is ideally suited to a condition in which the dependent variable is dichotomous and the predictor variables are or can be treated as categorical. MCA output is best presented in the form of two tables. Tables 3.1-3.3 show the mean value of the dependent variable for each class of each predictor variable, both when each variable is considered alone (class mean) and when the effects of other variables in the equation are held constant (adjusted mean). In our analysis the dependent variable, the school or work status of the 12- to 14-year-olds, was coded in such a way that these means can be read as the percentage of each subclass who were attending school. Table 3.4 indicates the predictive strength of each variable considered alone (eta^2), and the *relative* strength of each variable when combined with others (beta). Obviously, variables such as income, family size, occupation, etc. can be coded in a variety of ways, and many MCA "runs" must be performed to discover the optimal form and combination of variables. The principles which guide this process are, first, to maximize the total explained variance (R^2, adjusted for degrees of freedom); second, to do this with the smallest number of predictor variables and classes within variables; and third, to avoid masking important differences between subclasses. We will now turn to the results of the multiple classification analyses we ran on each of the regions in our study.

In the North, age proved to be the most powerful predictor of school-leaving (see Table 3.1). Although this is certainly not a startling finding, it must be remembered that the nearly two-thirds of the 14-year-olds in the North who were working, by and large, were working illegally. Other factors besides age were obviously involved. Father's income appears to have been one of those factors for although there is a slightly higher rate of school attendance for the very poorest families compared to one of the middle income groups, the general tendency is strongly toward higher rates of school-going for children whose fathers made the most money. As with income, the rates of school attendance generally rose with the occupational skill level (the one exception was the small number of children of idle or invalid workers who attended school at high rates). Nevertheless, occupation proved to be a weak predictor of school attendance when other variables were controlled.

Table 3.1

School Attendance of Children of Textile Workers, 12-14, in Northern States, 1890

Variables	N	Class Means	Adjusted Means	Net Deviation
Age				
12	257	94.6	92.2	− 2.4
13	196	70.9	73.1	+ 2.2
14	242	36.8	37.5	+ .7
Father's Income				
None	33	54.5	60.7	+ 6.2
1-250	67	52.2	58.0	+ 5.8
251-350	167	52.7	56.2	− 3.5
351-450	155	65.8	67.0	+ 1.2
451-550	113	76.1	75.3	− .8
Over 550	160	88.8	80.9	− 7.9
Occupation				
White Collar & Supervisory	37	89.2	84.9	− 4.3
Skilled	169	64.5	65.8	+ 1.3
Semi-skilled	159	62.9	66.0	+ 3.1
Unskilled	146	58.9	66.7	+ 7.8
Idle or Invalid	7	71.4	79.7	+ 8.3
Unknown	177	78.0	68.1	− 9.9
Ethnicity				
U.S.	246	69.9	61.7	− 8.2
French Canadian	65	61.5	75.4	+13.9
English Canadian	32	62.5	75.1	+12.6
British	126	73.0	68.6	− 4.4
Irish	160	63.8	71.1	+ 7.3
German	47	72.3	71.2	− 1.1
Other	19	57.9	66.3	+ 5.4
Living Density (Persons Per Room)				
.01-1	235	81.7	76.9	− 4.8
1.01-1.5	208	57.7	61.4	+ 3.7
1.51-2.0	135	53.3	59.5	+ 6.2
Over 2	19	42.1	46.1	+ 4.0
Unknown	98	80.6	74.9	− 5.7
Totals	695	67.8		

Another indicator of family well being, persons per room, also proved to be strongly correlated to rates of school attendance. Those families with the most adequate living space (person-per-room ratio) were almost twice as likely to have their children in school than those living in the most crowded conditions. Obviously linked to those conditions was family size which showed the smallest families having rates of school attendance over 30 percent higher than the rates of the largest families. Although the number of boarders would seem to also figure into this calculation when they were considered in relation to other factors, the variable proved to have little relationship to school attendance. Home ownership also lost some of its predictive power when considered in combination with other variables with the differences in attendance between home owners and renters dropping to only 12 percent when other factors were controlled. Finally, it appears that a child's sex, ethnic background, and family financial situation had little influence on their work or school status in the North.

In the South, age also led as the most significant variable but it was followed by the size of the nuclear family as the next most powerful indicator of school attendance (see Table 3.4). The relationship of family size to school attendance was not as linear as in the North (indeed families of six members led all groups with over half their children in school) but the possibility of being in school for children from families of six and under was three times greater than for their agemates with larger families. School attendance did fall in a straight linear relationship when compared to persons per room. Children from the least crowded homes had over twice the chance of being in school than those from the most crowded. Generally, the smaller the total household size the greater the school attendance. In spite of that, the presence or absence of boarders seems to have had little influence on the school or work status of the southern youngsters. Home ownership was also related to higher attendance but not enough southern families owned homes to make the relationship significant.

As in the North, father's income was quite important. Despite a somewhat uneven pattern, the trend of higher income relating to higher school attendance is clearly evident. A similar trend can be seen in occupation. Although occupations' strength is diminished when combined with other variables, there is a definite correlation between occupation and school attendance, with attendance rates falling with each skill level. The family's financial situation had only a marginal effect on school attendance with the families who broke even sending somewhat more children to school than either debtors or savers.

For European children, age was also the strongest predictor of school attendance. As in the northern United States, economic factors were generally more significant than family factors (see Table 3.4), but there were some startling differences. Father's income once again proved to

have a powerful influence on school attendance *but* in a curvilinear fashion. High attendance rates in Europe were found among the lowest and the highest income groups with the middle income families sending the smallest percentages of children to school. The rates of school attendance when considered along occupational lines also signalled that the poor in Europe were sending high percentages of children to school. The adjusted mean attendance rate for children of unskilled workers was the highest of any occupational group! In addition, the rates of school attendance for European debtors were substantially higher than that of savers or those families that balanced their budgets. The high rate of poorer children attending school in Europe was further borne out when we considered the attendance rates in relation to rooms per person. Eighty-three percent of the children from the *most* crowded circumstances in Europe were attending school, which was over 15 percent higher than the next closest group. Although children from the smallest families were somewhat more likely to attend school generally when other variables were controlled the differences in school attendance virtually disappeared, as did differences in total household size. As in the United States, boarders, sex, and other siblings aged 12-14 made little difference in determining the school or work status of the children.

In each of the regions we have studied many of the same variables appeared to have a significant impact on when teenage children entered the work force. Nevertheless, those variables did not always exert a uniform pressure. Although economic factors were quite important in both the Northern U.S. and in Europe, the influence of a variable like father's income was quite different in each. In the United States the tendency was for children from wealthier homes to attend school in greater numbers but in Europe the highest rates of attendance were by the children of the poor. In the South, economic factors played their part but were less significant than certain family factors. Where a child was living obviously played a central role in influencing the school or work choice they made as teenagers. But what the data also suggest is that where economic circumstances permitted in the U.S. schooling was sought over working for teenage children. And in Europe it appears that the poor saw schools as a chance to improve their children's future. In light of conditions of child labor in the textile industry in this era those choices are not surprising.

Table 3.2

School Attendance of Children of Textile Workers, 12-14 in Southern States, 1890

Variables	N	Class Means	Adjusted Means	Net Deviation
Age				
12	104	66.3	64.8	− 1.5
13	102	19.6	19.7	+ 0.1
14	94	10.6	12.3	+ 1.7
Father's Income				
None	67	26.9	25.4	− 1.5
1-250	121	25.6	25.9	+ 0.3
251-300	62	29.0	32.8	+ 3.8
351-450	22	50.0	44.0	− 6.0
451-550	10	80.0	83.3	+ 3.3
Over 550	18	72.2	67.9	− 4.3
Occupation				
White Collar and Supervisory	23	56.5	36.9	−19.6
Skilled	58	46.6	33.5	−13.1
Semi-skilled	47	27.7	34.7	+ 7.0
Unskilled	109	26.6	34.1	+ 7.5
Idle or Invalid	17	17.6	23.0	+ 5.2
Unknown	46	30.4	29.7	− 0.7
Nuclear Family Size				
2-4	52	48.1	47.0	− 1.1
5	63	44.4	46.0	+ 1.6
6	49	51.0	46.6	− 4.4
7	66	16.7	20.7	+ 4.0
8-10	70	14.3	13.0	− 1.3
Income/Expenditure Ratio				
Savers	103	33.0	29.0	− 4.0
Balancers	139	36.0	34.5	− 1.5
Debtors	58	25.9	36.5	+10.6
Totals	300	33.0		

Table 3.3

School Attendance of Children of Textile Workers, 12-14, in Europe, 1890

Variables	N	Class Means	Adjusted Means	Net Deviation
Age				
12	103	96.1	95.4	− .7
13	83	59.0	59.5	+ .5
14	70	32.9	33.5	+ .6
Father's Income				
None	5	100.0	88.4	−11.6
1-250	90	67.8	71.4	+ 3.6
251-350	64	64.1	63.2	− .9
351-450	64	59.4	56.5	− 2.9
451-550	20	70.0	73.1	+ 3.1
Over 550	13	92.3	85.2	− 7.1
Occupation				
White Collar & Supervisory	9	55.6	60.8	+ 5.2
Skilled	54	66.7	65.6	− 1.1
Semi-skilled	59	61.0	60.4	− .6
Unskilled	21	66.7	71.5	+ 4.8
Unknown	113	70.8	70.3	− .5
Income/Expenditure Ratio				
Savers	108	60.2	64.3	+ 4.1
Balancers	107	68.2	67.3	− .9
Debtors	41	80.5	72.2	− 8.3
Living Density (Persons Per Room)				
.01-1.0	35	65.7	66.4	+ .7
1.01-1.5	64	68.8	70.3	+ 1.5
1.51-2.0	43	62.8	63.6	+ .8
Over 2.0	35	82.9	79.5	− 3.4
Unknown	79	60.8	60.2	− .6
Totals	256	66.8		

Table 3.4

School Attendance of Children of Textile Workers, 12-14, in Three Regions, 1890

Variable	Region					
	North [a]		South [b]		Europe [c]	
	eta²	beta	eta²	beta	eta²	beta
Age	.274	.500	.268	.497	.301	.541
Father's Income	.085	.206	.085	.300	.013	.173
Occupation	.027	.093	.034	.065	.009	.091
Ethnicity	.000	.106				
Living Density	.076	.184			.007	.135
Nuclear Family Size			.106	.320		
Income/Expenditure Ratio			.006	.064	.015	.058

[a] R^2 (adj) = .362.

[b] R^2 (adj) = .432.

[c] R^2 (adj) = .319.

Footnotes

[1] See for example: Michael Katz, "Who Went to School?" *History of Education Quarterly* (Fall, 1972); Selwyn R. Troen, "Popular Education in Nineteenth Century St. Louis," *History of Education Quarterly* (Spring, 1973); Frank Denton and Peter George, "Socio-Economic Influences on School Attendance: A Study of a Canadian County in 1871," *History of Education Quarterly* (Summer, 1974); Michael Katz and Ian Davey, "Youth and Early Industrialization in a Canadian City," *Turning Points*, eds. John Demos and Sarane Boocock, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978); and Carl Kaestle and Maris Vinovskis, "From Fireside to Factory: School Entry and School Leaving in Nineteenth Century Massachusets," *Transitions*, ed. Tamara Hareven (New York: Academic Press, 1978).

[2] U.S. Bureau of Education, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1889-1890*, Vol. II (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), pp. 1197-98; U.S. Bureau of Education, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1890-1891*, Vol. I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894), pp. 34-37.

[3] See Forest Chester Ensign, *Compulsory School Attendance and Child Labor* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1921), Chapters IV-VII.

[4] New Jersey was the only state to have 12 as the maximum compulsory age. In every other compulsory state the maximum was, at least, 14.

[5] Michael Katz has constantly argued that position but Troen and Denton and George have also found that to be true.

[6] U.S. Department of Labor, *Description of Occupations: Textiles and Clothing* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918). Level one included engineers, foremen, overseers, clerks, etc. Level two contained card grinders, dyers, carpenters, and so forth. Level three had weavers, finishers, teamsters, etc. Level four included laborers, general mill workers, pickers, and the like. Level five were all people listed as idle or invalids.

[7] See, for example, John Golden, "Children in the Textile Industry," *Child Employing Industries* (New York: National Child Labor Committee, 1918), p. 45.

[8] Merle Curti, *The Making of an American Community* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), pp. 388-405.

[9] Jo Ellen Vinyard, "The Irish on the Urban Frontier: Detroit, 1850-1880," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1972.

[10] Michael Katz, *The People of Hamilton; Canada West* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), pp. 38-49, 285-291; and Katz and Davey, "Yough," p. 105.

[11] Kaestle and Vinovskis, "From . . . ," pp. 174-177.

[12] Curti, *The Making . . . .* pp. 398-400; Stephen Thernstrum, *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), pp. 156-157.

[13] The food category obviously included every one of the food items listed in the budget analysis. Housing included money spent on rent, fuel, lighting and furniture. Leisure activities contained all money spent on books and newspapers, amusements, liquor and tobacco. Insurance included amounts paid for life and/or property insurance. Contributions recorded money paid to labor organizations, religious organizations and charities. Clothing included money spent for mothers', fathers', and children's clothes. Medical costs were all monies listed as being paid under the heading sickness and death.

[14] Savers were people who spent less than 95 percent of their income. Budget balancers spent between 95 and 105 percent of their incomes. Debtors spent over 105 percent of their income. The major difference between the debtors and the other two groups came in the amount spent on medical expenses which was significantly higher among debtors than the others. In addition, savers spent more on clothing but less on housing than the other two groups.

Path Analysis: Another Research Tool For The Educational Historian

Isadore Newman
and
Charles M. Dye
The University of Akron

Introduction

Some, if not most of us, gathered here today have been fortunate to have had the privilege of teaching historical research techniques. We can look back and recall countless moments of intellectual excitement in sundry seminar settings. Possibly, we can even recollect those specific moments when the idea of a truly decent historical dissertation was germinated. And, just maybe some of us have been blessed to have seen such work that was originally conceived in our seminars progress to the full fruition of a published work and, I might add, a work that makes a unique contribution to our literature.

But, for as many delectable moments as we can enjoyably remember, there are many, many more interludes in our seminars that are genuinely disquieting, if not at least minimally uncomfortable. Many of these occurrences that I recall centered around rather central issues in historiography; i.e., the subjectivity of historical research, the bases for generating historical generalizations, causation, causal links, cause-effect relationships, etc.

With regard to the subjectivity in our labors, we tend to lean heavily on the objectivity of our data; i.e., the predominance of primary sources, the judicious use of relevant secondary sources, the need for original sources, tests for internal and external validity, etc. (Gottschalk, 1969). As to the generalizations emanating from our work, we tend to explore the philosophical bases of our subject and its context and of ourselves, so as to provide a firm footing for the reach in our historical assertions (Shafer, 1969).

It does seem to me that, when we encounter our students beseeching us for aid in the understanding of the determination of causation, we continue to rely on further explorations of their and our philosophical underpinnings. We seem to come full circle repeatedly in our explanatory discourse, and that is to again confront the historian as a central actor in the research process itself (Sherman and Kirschner, 1976). This is, and it is clear to all of us, a crucial topic in historical investigation . . . the role of the historian as researcher, as one who is competent, informed,

challenging, humanly vital and deeply committed to one's subject of inquiry.

I have a hunch that most of us in the history of education are not as fully informed nor as sensitive to many, if not most, of the statistical techniques used by our colleagues in other disciplines, especially the social sciences. This certainly comes as no surprise. In fact, I suggest that we are resplendent in our allegiance to the years of rigorous training we received from the minds and hands of the seniors of our field. But I do believe we have become rather parochial in the breadth of our research techniques. At least, we are not mightily motivated ourselves to learn other methods that could provide us with extended insights in our research work.

We have just witnessed a decade and a half of extremely productive, albeit provocative, revisionism in educational history. The works of Katz, Spring, Troen, Tyack, and some even amongst us (Professor Angus' work from last year's annual meeting), and others, have successfully utilized statistical techniques and, in so doing, have challenged many of the "truths" about schooling and education in this society. They were daring in their use of new "tools" in their research activities and gained extraordinarily different insights from their data.

Gene Wise accurately pointed out in 1973 that:

> In knowledge . . . our root problem now is not production, but ecology — which means more conscious concern for making fresh connections among existing things; more looking outward to the wider consequences of our information; more serious attention given to questioning why we're doing what we're doing, and through what forms; more effort given to structuring all the productive activity into humanly manageable patterns.

Wise further asserts that:

> If mind is to conserve its energies and exercise some control in such an abundance situation (Toffler's information overload), it must invent new strategies for slowing down the rush of productive activity around it, for finding and holding focus amid the flux, for sorting out information into meaningful patterns and thereby gaining leverage on it. One way of doing this is to . . . (move) away from our exclusive preoccupation with content to focus more on structure, and function, and process (in historical inquiry). (Wise, 1973)

In this paper, we would like to offer one technique a researcher might wish to employ in his historical investigations. We think that path analysis will enable one to focus on what Wise terms as "process." But, lest there be misunderstanding, we are not claiming our desire for the tail

to wag the dog. We see path analysis as merely a tool to be used by the historical researcher in order that he might gain a better grip on the dynamics of the relationships that may exist within his data. We believe that path analysis might prove to be a way for you, as a researcher, to obtain at least different, if not deeper, understandings of your sources.

The historian is deeply interested in inferring cause-effect relationships. It is fairly well accepted that if one does not have control of the independent variable (that is, when the independent variable has already occurred), then the researcher cannot assume causation (Kerlinger, 1973; Newman and Newman, 1977; Vukovich and Newman, 1977). However, certain research methodologists such as Blalock (1971), Duncan (1975), and Heise (1975), have supported and modified a technique developed by Wright (1921), which allows one to assume causation through the testing of models, paths, or theoretical relationships. Even though this technique has been in existence for 60 years, it has been introduced only relatively recently into sociology, and even more recently has it been introduced into educational studies (Anderson and Evans, 1974; Wolfe, 1977; Williams, 1978; Wolfe, 1980).

The primary purpose of this paper is to present a conceptual explanation of path analysis and to determine its potential use as a *tool* for the historical researcher, with explanations of its potential weaknesses and misuse. Before applying path analysis to a hypothetical example for illustrative purposes, it is necessary to first outline some terminology and concepts basic to the technique of path analysis.

Basic Concepts

Path analysis has been used to estimate causation from correlational data. It has also been frequently referred to as "causal analysis." There are several underlying assumptions to this procedure.

One of the first assumptions is that a theory exists to explain the causal relationship. Without a theory to conceptualize the relationship, path analysis *cannot* be used. The theoretical relationship between variables is generally represented by a set of vector diagrams (see Figure 1).

Like many statistical techniques, this can become very complicated. There exist many highly sophisticated methodological aspects and statistical considerations (Williams, 1978; Wolfe, 1980) which are beyond the scope and purpose of this paper. So, as to be most relevant for historical researchers, this paper will deal only with *recursive models* most commonly found in the literature and which are the easiest to interpret.

A *recursive model* is one in which the flow of the diagram is *unidirectional*. That is, A causes B, and B causes C where two variables cannot be the cause and effect of each other.

Figure 1 is an example of a *recursive model*. X_1, X_2, and X_3 have curved arrows pointing to each other. Those curved arrows indicate that these variables are related to each other, but the researcher has no theoretical interest in what causes them. The cause is assumed to be outside the model and, therefore, these variables are called *exogenous*.

The *endogenous variables* are variables X_4, X_5, X_6, and X_7, since these variables are being predicted by other variables within the model. For example, in Figure 1, X_1 has a straight arrow leading to X_4. This infers that X_1 is causing X_4. Variable X_1 also has a direct arrow to X_7 which indicates a direct effect of X_1 or X_7. Variable X_4, also, has a direct arrow leading to X_7, which indicates X_4 also has a direct effect on X_7, according to this theory.

The theory that this model represents also infers that X_1 has an indirect effect on X_7 through X_4. (X_4 in this case is an *intervening variable*) X_1 can also effect X_7 through its relationship with X_2, X_2's relationship with X_5, and X_5's relationship with X_7.

This is really only a small explanation of all possible hypothesized relationships inferred by this relatively simple *recursive model*. To make these statements, directly related to Figure 1, this model to some extent assumes the cause for a particular person's voting decisions (X_7) is determined by the *direct* effect of socio-economic status (X_1), as well as the direct effect of one's educational level (X_4). *Indirectly*, voting decisions are effected by socio-economic status (X_1) through educational level (X_4). There is also a *joint effect* from (X_1) through its relationship with race (X_2), through (X_5), living in inner or outer city. This model also infers that voting decisions are caused by a person's geographical area (X_3) and religion (X_6), etc.

Other Relevant Terminology

Some of the basic terms used in path analysis are: recursive models, exogenous variables, endogenous variables, direct effect, indirect effect, joint effect, total effect, total association, path coefficients and residuals. Recursive models, endogenous variables and exogenous variables have already been dealt with; but, we would like to offer brief definitions of some of the other pertinent terms.

Direct effect: This is exemplified by the arrow going straight from one variable to another indicating a theorized direct cause of one on the other. For example, in Figure 1, voting decisions (X_7) have five variables bearing a direct effect on it (X_1, X_3, X_4, X_5, and X_6). Variables X_4, X_5, and X_6 each have a direct effect causing them (X_1, X_2, and X_3, respectively).

Indirect effect: This is the effect a variable has on another variable through an intervening variable. For example, socio-economic status has

an indirect effect on voting decisions, through its relationship with education (X_4, the intervening variable).

Joint effects: The effects that a variable has due to its noncausal correlation with another variable predicting the outcome. For example, the effect that socio-economic status (X_1) has through its noncausal correlation with race (X_2), and race's relationship with inner-outer city (X_5).

Spurious effect: This describes a relationship in which the correlation is not logical in terms of its order in prediction. For example, it would be illogical to think about grade point average causing I.Q.; but the antecedent correlation exists.

Total effects: This actually consists of all direct and indirect effects.

Total association: This consists of the total effects, plus the spurious effects, plus the joint effects; that is, the total association of one variable with another is nothing more than the simple correlation between those variables. The total association for each variable can then be decomposed into total effects, joint effects, and spurious effects. This allows the researcher to either support or not support his theory about the causal relationship between the variables.

Residuals: The r's in Figure 1 are the residuals. This is the proportion of variance not accounted for in predicting the variable by all its direct effects.

Path coefficients: The vectors (arrows) going from one variable to another are called paths. For example, the path from socio-economic status (X_1) to educational level (X_4) is called P 4-1; i.e., from variable 1 to variable 4. And, the path from variable X_4 to variable X_7 is identified as P 7-4. These path coefficients are used for calculating the direct, indirect, spurious, and joint associations. The path coefficients are standardized regression coefficients calculated from regression equations. This is almost always done by a computer program.

Strengths and Weaknesses of Path Analysis

One of the major advantages of path analysis is that it forces the researcher to state the theoretical relationships very specifically and in a manner that is testable. It allows one to test not only for the order of the relationships, but the interrelationships as well. This process inhibits one from making unjustified inferential leaps and leads instead to clearer explanations and increased understandings.

However, one has to be careful about assuming causal relationships from data that is not experimentally controlled. Since Hume in the 18th century, it has been fairly well accepted that one can never totally assume causation from statistical relationships alone. Therefore, when one is

dealing with path analysis, the term "cause" should really be placed within quotation marks.

In using path analysis, one assumes "cause" when three conditions exist:

1. There must be a significant relationship between the variable that is assumed to be the cause and the variable assumed to be the effect;

2. The causal variable has to have preceeded the effect variable in its occurrence; and,

3. Spuriousness has been controlled, which means that all meaningful relationships are represented in the model.

Of the three conditions, one and two are relatively easy to meet, but the third is virtually impossible to be sure of; i.e., how does one determine for sure that all relevant variables have been incorporated into the model?

Some of the further underlying assumptions of path analysis need to be addressed. One such assumption is that the variables are literally additive, no interaction exists, and the weights are stable (paths). For the weights to be stable, there would have to be no, or very little, correlation between the variables. This is very unlikely.

Another concern is that totally different path analytic models can produce a sufficient amount of statistical verification to justify a variety of theoretical explanations for the same variables. That is, just because a path solution supports a particular model, one should not be misled into believing that this *proves* causation. However, if a path analytic solution does not support a particular model, then one can be relatively certain that the assumed theoretical causal relationship does not exist.

Even with its limitations, path analysis can be a very useful tool to the historical researcher. Path analysis produces a relatively objective statistical technique that attempts to eliminate rival explanations of some causal relationship(s). One can set up a variety of path analytical models to get an estimate of the best theoretical model; i.e., to explain a causal relationship in one's data.

As long as the historical researcher is aware of the limitations of this tool as well as its strengths, it can be used effectively to help reduce a large population of explanations into a smaller set of explanations that are statistically tenable, without overly generalizing from the data.

To assist in further understanding of path analysis, we have prepared other historical examples (see additional figures) on overhead transparencies to facilitate those questions that are sure to arise.

FIGURE # 1: Recursive model explaining voting decisions.

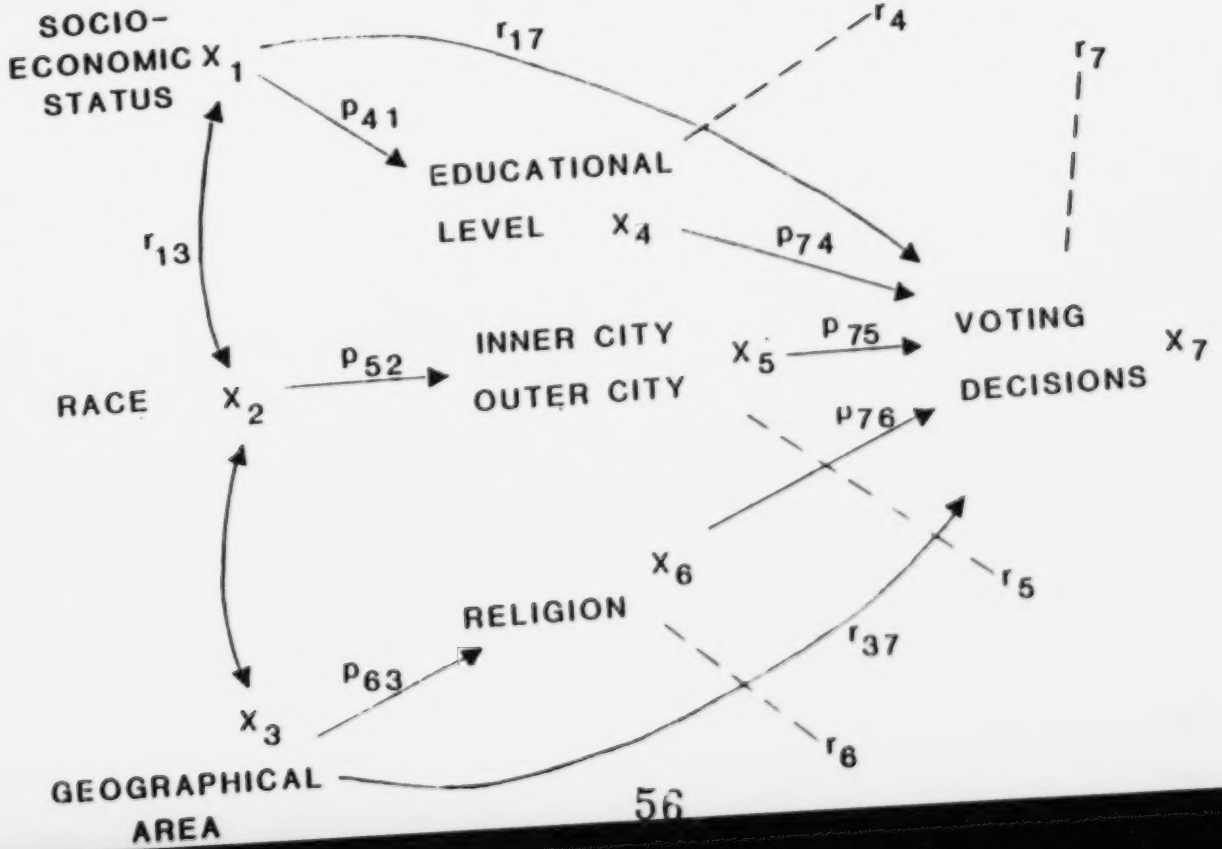


FIGURE #2: Recursive model explaining worker retention within corporate structure

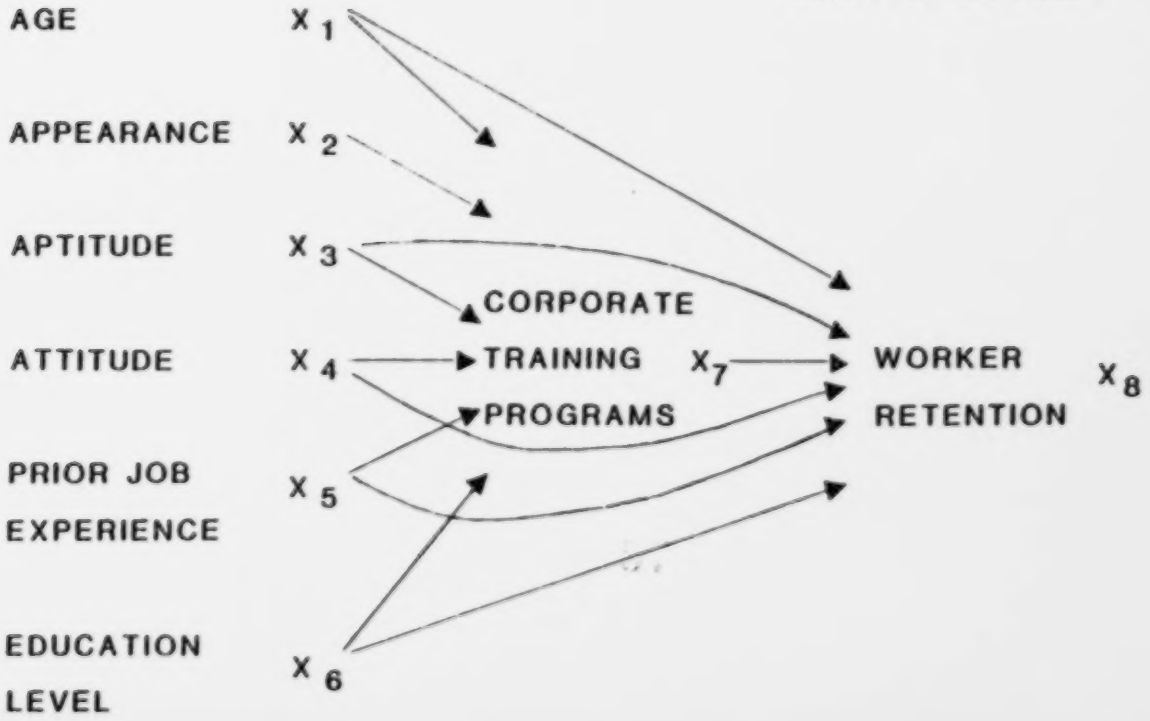


FIGURE #3: Recursive model explaining worker promotion within corporate structure.

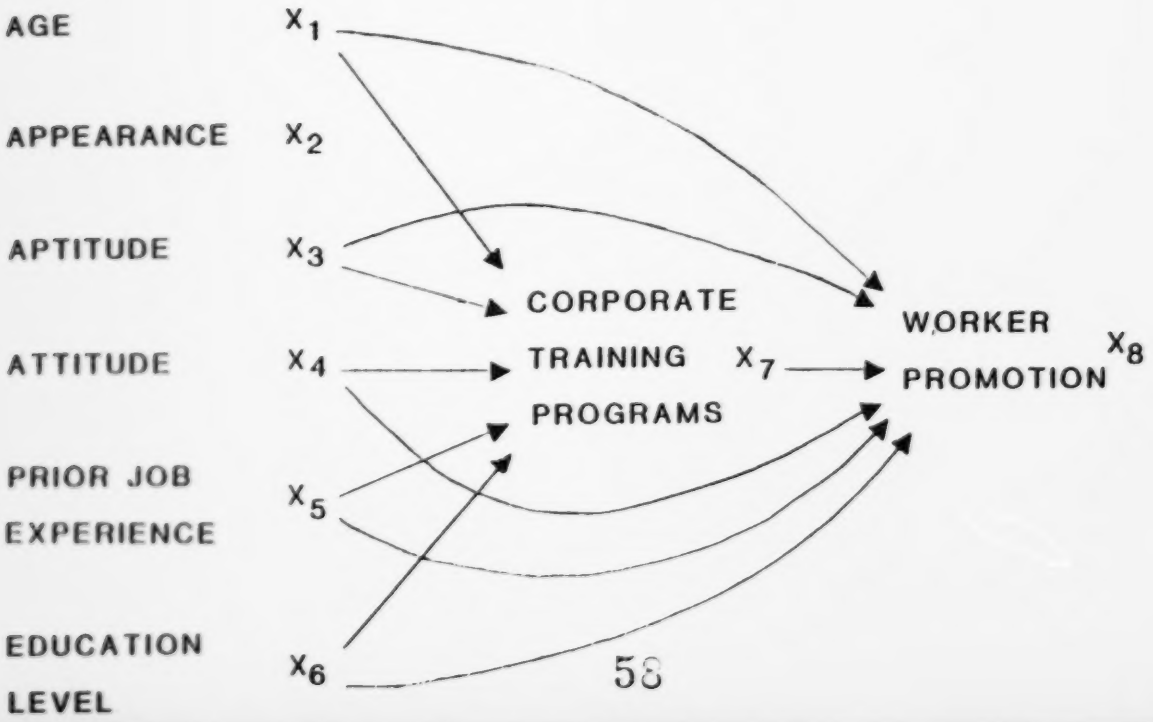


FIGURE #4: Recursive model explaining increased worker production within corporate structure.

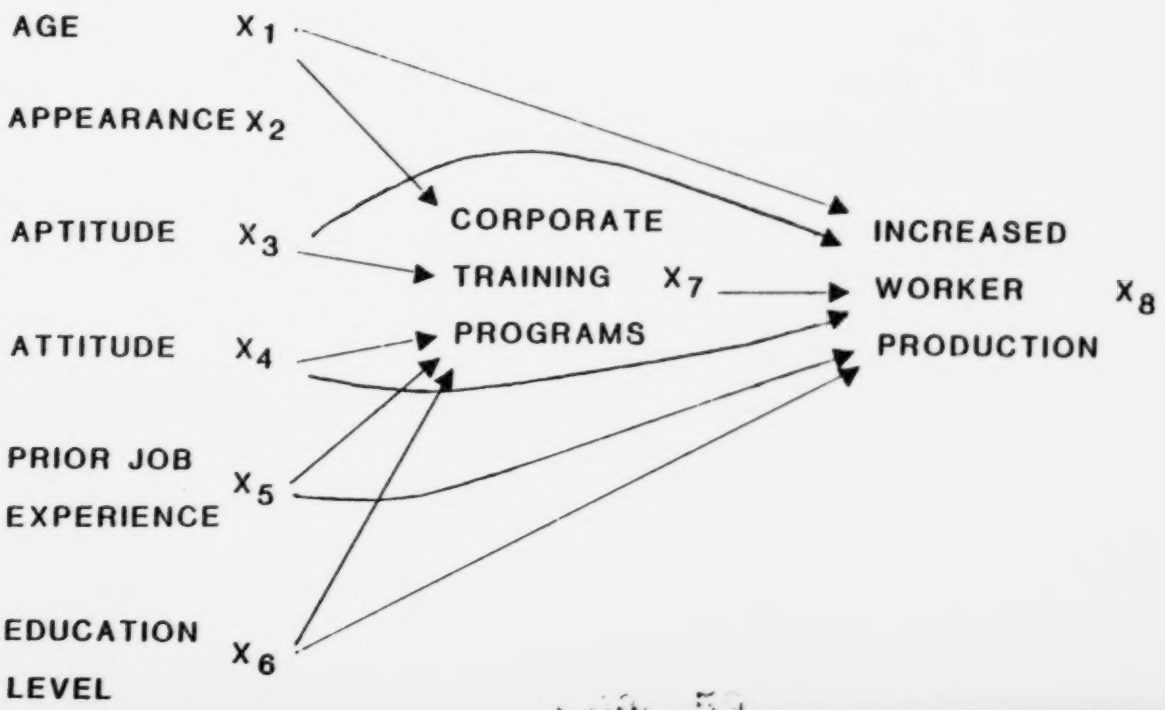
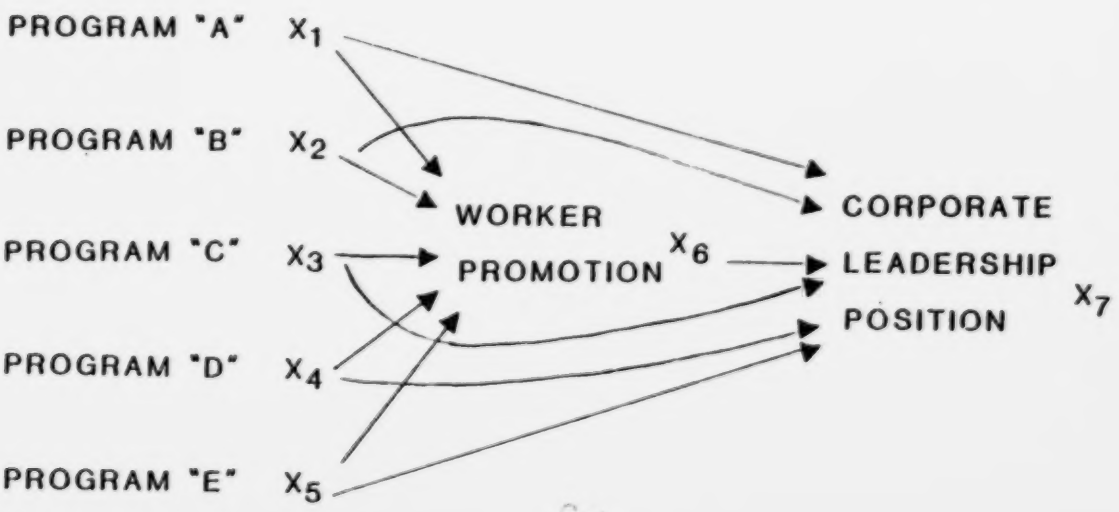


FIGURE #5: Recursive model explaining attainments of corporate leadership position.



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Appendix

Figure 2 identifies categories of information obtained from corporate employment application forms. These historical documents can yield valuable information to the historical researcher provided that they can be quantified and, thus, rendered more readily useable. Variables, such as those found in Figure 2, are quantifiable. There are relatively easy methods that can be employed to quantify such variables by the historical researcher.

Age: Age, obviously, can be quantified to the nearest year, month or week, if needed.

Appearance: Organizations which conduct formal employment interviews are likely to have statements about appearance on the interviewwers' evaluation forms after employment. These statements are generally descriptive, such as: "dresses neatly," "well groomed," etc. For research purposes, it becomes necessary to quantify these statements so they can be analyzed in a statistical manner.

One suggested procedure for doing this is to copy all the statements onto separate cards and code them so as to identify the interviewer making the comments. With the aid of two or three persons, the cards may then be sorted across a defined continuum from "very poor" to "very good." It does not matter whether a five- or a seven-point scale is used; but it is important that each point on the continuum has a clearly defined "anchor" such as: "very poor," "somewhat poor," "neutral," etc.

It is also important to establish a criterion of "interjudge agreement" for sorting the cards. Quite often, 80 percent agreement is considered acceptable. Thus, if 80 percent of the judges decided that a response was "somewhat good," then that particular response would be assigned a quantitative value associated with that anchor.

Where the level of agreement is less than the criterion (less than 80 percent), two steps may be followed. The first step would be to have the judges discuss the response to see if they can reach the criterion required. If so, that anchor score is assigned. If agreement cannot be attained, one must consider dropping that subject (statement) from the analysis.

The second step deals with consistent disagreement among the judges. If one judge is consistently disagreeing with the other judges, one must try to determine why this judge is responding differently. It may be due to a difference in background or of expectation. If this is the case, one can either get another judge or one can analyze the data both ways and obtain a minority as well as a majority opinion. Another way to handle consistent disagreement is to aggregate all judges' opinions and assign the average score to the subject (statement). Yet another strategy that could be employed is to aggregate all scores and discard the highest and lowest score; this strategy is defensible when there are five or more judges.

These techniques are somewhat analogous to the methods used for the highly subjective judgments in diving and gymnastic competitions. Using these strategies, the researcher can arrive at reliably quantifiable assessments of subjective written evaluations.

By knowing which interviewers did particular ratings (one may have done 10; one may have done five, etc.), the researcher can adjust for interviewer difference. For example, one interviewer may tend to rate higher, while another may tend to rate lower in a consistent manner. If these differential ratings are of concern to the researcher, they can be dealt with by using a "person vector" in a regression equation. This procedure will adjust for rater differences when there is more than one rater in the situation and if that rater has rated more than one person.

Aptitude and Attitude: Similar procedures can be followed when quantifying aptitude and attitude variables. Information may be simply quantified as the number of years of particular job experiences. Or, one could have a sophisticated checklist so that experiences could be categorized into types. These types of experiences on the checklist can be rank-ordered by priority ratings.

Priority ratings must be developed beforehand and must be based on some logical scheme or theoretical framework as they relate to elements of job performance. For example, the researcher may want to look at the years of experience working in a large or small worker population job environment, in a supervised or non-supervised environment, or the type of worker responsibility in prior employment. Judges can also be used to place the subjects in categories, and interjudge reliability criterion and be established.

Education Level: Much like prior employment or work experience, the researcher can quantify education level by years of schooling attained or by prioritizing varying experiences and quantify along the dimensions of variance.

All of the above strategies constitute only a few methods which can be used to quantify a set of subject statements. Although every situation is unique, the underlying concept can be fairly generalizable. If the educational historian perceives these procedures as logical and not statistical, they tend to be easier to understand and, therefore, easier to incorporate in research efforts.

PART II

Ethnicity and Education

A Test of Andrew M. Greeley's Six Step Theory of Ethnic Assimilation by the Use of Norwegian-American Historiography

Frank C. Nelsen
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

In this paper an attempt has been made to use the historical data from the Norwegian-American immigrant experience between 1825-1930 to test Andrew M. Greeley's Six Step Theory of Ethnic Assimilation as stated in his book, *Why Can't They Be Like Us?* (1969). Greeley's Six Step Theory is: (1) cultural shock; (2) organization and emerging self-consciousness; (3) assimilation of the elites; (4) militancy; (5) self hatred; and (6) emerging adjustment.[1] Greeley maintains that his theory in addition to explaining the steps ethnics go through in the assimilation process may also be used to understand intergroup conflicts in American society.[2] The Norwegian-American data has been compared to each of the Theory's six steps as to congruency or incongruency. An attempt also has been made to generalize about a northern European Protestant ethnic immigrant people and Greeley's theory.

The historical data that has been examined indicates that Norwegian-Americans passed through four periods rather than the six of Greeley's theory. The first period may be characterized by a "resignation to assimilation" on the part of the immigrants. It began when the first Norwegians arrived in the port of New York on the sloop Restoration and lasted until the post Civil War period. The second period may be characterized by a time of "renewed ethnicity" and lasted from 1870 to about 1900. The third period may be characterized by a "renewed emphasis on assimilation." It lasted from 1900 to 1920. The fourth period may be characterized by "assimilation." This era lasted from about 1920 to the onset of the Great Depression in 1930.[3]

The First Period – "Resignation to Assimilation, 1825-1870"

The "American Letters" — letters from immigrants to their family and friends in Norway — give abundant evidence that the Norwegian immigrant liked to settle in rural areas of the United States, particularly in the upper middle west. These letters are filled with information on the price of land, description of soil conditions, and crop yields. The Norwegians, unlike many other rural peasants from Europe, settled in rural America rather than in the large cities of the east coast. The Norwegians settled, if at all possible, with people from the same "bygd" or valley community in Norway, people who not only spoke Norwegian but who

spoke the same rural dialect.[4] Carlton C. Qualey has written, "The Norwegian settlers naturally preferred to establish themselves as near as possible to people who spoke their language and who were of the Lutheran faith. In such a community a 'Yankee was almost an alien.' "[5] The Norwegian immigrants were thought of by the old stock Americans as being "clannish." This clannishness of the Norwegians was disliked by the Americans. It had, however, an important survival function for the Norwegian immigrant. Einar Haugen has pointed out that there was a "heightened incidence of insanity among immigrants, and the immigrant social order served the purpose of sheltering the immigrant's personality while it was being transferred from the old soil to the new."[6]

These early Norwegian immigrants who settled in isolated areas did not do so because they thought they could preserve their language and culture in a strange land. The Norwegians after all were a small band of people in a large country. Thus they were resigned at this point in their history to assimilation. An indication of this attitude of "resignation to assimilation" was the immigrants' desire to learn the English language. Ole Munch Raeder, a Norwegian government official who visited the United States at this time of early Norwegian immigration wrote about how rapidly Norwegians were attempting to learn English. Raeder wrote, "They [the Norwegians] do not bother about keeping the two languages separated, so that they may speak Norwegian to their countrymen and English to others, instead, they eliminate one word after the other from their Norwegian and substitute English words in such a way that Norwegian will soon be completely forgotten."[7] Thus, prior to the Civil War, during this period of "resignation to assimilation," the Norwegian immigrants were learning English, or at least a form of English, which they hoped would facilitate assimilation with the English speaking majority.

Church leaders, most of whom were Lutherans, also believed that it was only a matter of time before the Norwegian language would cease to be spoken among the Norwegian immigrants. The Reverend Elling Eiselsen was so convinced of the soon demise of the Norwegian language, and the belief that Norwegian children should rapidly learn English, that "he walked from Illinois to New York just to have printed an English translation of Luther's Catechism."[8] Another clergyman, the Reverend Larsen, "looked upon the absorption of the Norwegian immigrant into the American people as a matter of course and as an event of the near future."[9]

One of the earliest Norwegian language immigrant newspapers was *Nordlyset*. It's editor, James Reymert, crusaded in this early period for the use of the English language. He advised immigrant parents to allow their children to learn English because "they ought to know how difficult it is to get along in America without a knowledge of English." Reymert argued that without a knowledge of English, Norwegians would always

be "strangers and foreigners." It was Reymert's view that if Norwegian immigrant children were "to avail themselves of the privilege which the institutions of our adopted country grant every inhabitant . . . and not to remain 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' all their days they would have to gain a good knowledge of the English language."[10]

The editor of another Norwegian language paper praised the American common schools for their stress on English, and wrote in 1853, "Instruction in the English language, as carried on in the Common schools, is and remains the foremost means of advancing the education of the younger generation."[11]

Why was it that the Norwegian-American in this early period prior to the Civil War was so willing to learn English and rapidly assimilate? There were several factors. There was, for one thing, a feeling of alienation on the part of the immigrant. America to the immigrant was so vast it was almost overwhelming. There was another factor which accounts, at least in part, for the Norwegian-Americans' ready acceptance of American society and the English language in the 1840s and 1850s. The Norwegian immigrant at the time did not have the most favorable view of Norway. Social and economic conditions in Norway during the early decades of the 19th century were particularly difficult for the peasant. The small farms were uneconomical and could no longer support the sudden, dramatic rise in population. The sharp socio-economic class divisions that existed in Norwegian society at the time were irritating, to say the least. Petty government officials harrassed and humiliated them.[12] The clergy of the Norwegian State Church often oppressed them for their non-conformist views.[13] These and related factors made rural Norwegians think seriously about emigrating to the United States.

By the close of this period of "resignation to assimilation" so many Norwegian immigrants had been Americanized that it led the editor of the Chicago based *Skandinaven*, the leading Norwegian newspaper, to write, "Many of the older settlers read only English language newspapers, while a good many of those who have grown up in this country do not even understand Norwegian."[14] Clearly there was a concern on the part of many immigrants that assimilation into American society had gone too fast and too far. But this was largely a minority view.

One of the clearest statements of the majority of immigrants at the time on the question of assimilation was made by Paul Hjelm-Hansen, a Norwegian journalist who had spent several years in the United States. After visiting the Red River Valley of Minnesota he wrote glowing accounts to his newspaper in Norway of the rich farm land available to the immigrant. His articles influenced scores of Norwegians to emigrate to this farming region of Minnesota. In a speech given in Alexandria, Minnesota on the eve of his departure for Norway, Hjelm-Hansen gave some advise to the Norwegian immigrants who had settled in the area. "I

do not wish," said Hjelm-Hansen, "that Scandinavians should form a power all to themselves or to be a state-within-a-state. No, that is not my desire. My reading of history has been sufficient to convince me that attempts of that nature are doomed to failure." Hjelm-Hansen continued, "I believe that it is the sacred duty of the immigrants who have taken the oath of allegiance to this society to become united and assimilated with the native population of this country, the Americans, to learn the English language, and to familiarize themselves with and uphold the spirit and institutions of the Republic The sooner the better."[15] It was Hjelm-Hansen's advice that the immigrant conform to American society.[16] In 1869 he viewed assimilation as the only logical course. Yet not all immigrants at the time agreed that assimilation was the course that should be taken. German leaders, for example, were talking and writing about establishing "German republics in America that would last for a thousand years."[17] But to Paul Hjelm-Hansen the lesson of history was clear. Any immigrant people who failed to assimilate were doomed to eventual failure and frustration. Thus, the sooner assimilation took place the better it would be for the Norwegian-American immigrant.

The Second Period – "Renewed Ethnicity, 1870-1900"

The early period of "resignation to assimilation" was followed by a period of "renewed ethnicity." The second period lasted from 1870 to 1900. As the 19th century progressed the Norwegian-American immigrant community was greatly encouraged by the increased number of Norwegians coming to the United States following the Civil War. Norwegian immigration in the second half of the 19th century was significant. Only Ireland had a greater ratio of its population emigrate than did the Norwegians.[18] The number that emigrated was equal to the total population of Norway in 1800. With large numbers of Norwegians emigrating to America there emerged a dormant hope, latent in the first period, that assimilation might be slowed down and, to some immigrants, stopped altogether. This was a significant and important shift in attitude from the "resignation to assimilation" of the first period. This new attitude was expressed by an immigrant who wrote that Norwegians ought "not to be too quick to mimic everything American before we have tested whether it is better than our own."[19] In this second period a new ethnic awareness and self confidence emerged which was an important change in the Norwegian immigrant's attitude toward the assimilation process.

The churches of the Norwegian immigrants played a significant role in promoting this new spirit of ethnicity. As the Lutheran church and other church bodies became stronger by the influx of new members from Norway, the congregations in this period began to strongly oppose rapid assimilation and accommodation to American society. The period between 1870 and 1900 has been correctly called "the Norwegian peri-

od."[20] It seems strange indeed that the Lutheran church of 1900 was more ethnic than it had been a half century earlier.[21] An interesting factor is that the children of the immigrants also experienced a renewed sense of ethnic pride. Hansen's Law that "what the father forgets the son remembers" is descriptive of this period.

The Third Period – "Renewed Emphasis on Assimilation, 1900-1920"

The period between 1900 and 1920 may be characterized by an increasing accommodation on the part of the Norwegian immigrants to assimilation. Just before the turn of the century there appeared in the Norwegian language church publications a growing concern on the part of the Lutheran clergy that children of the immigrants were not learning Norwegian. This was the period when Norwegian language summer schools were conducted in the local church, usually taught by a student from St. Olaf or Luther College. During this period a pastor of the Hauge Synod called most of his fellow pastors "obstructionists" for insisting on the exclusive use of the Norwegian language in the churches of the Synod. He warned them that children who do not understand Norwegian might well end up in English speaking churches, which were eager to have them attend.[22]

The struggle over the question of language and assimilation continued at the turn of the century. Johannes B. Wist, the highly respected editor of the leading Norwegian language newspaper, the *Decorah-Posten*, expressed the view that the Norwegian immigrant ought to eventually assimilate into American society. However, it was Wist's position that assimilation, or "Americanization" as the immigrants called it, would surely come, but that it must not be done in haste. The transition from one culture to another was no easy task for the immigrant, and it must be a gradual transition. Wist argued that for a time the Norwegian-American would need the Norwegian culture.

Not everyone agreed with Wist that this was the direction the Norwegians in America ought to follow. A small but literate minority was ready and willing to do battle with anyone who had views similar to those of Johannes Wist.[23] Waldemar Ager of Eau Claire, Wisconsin was the acknowledged leader of this minority. Ager was the editor of *Reform*, a temperance paper, and also the editor of *Kvartalskrift*, the quarterly of the Norwegian Society of America. In addition to his editorial work, Ager was a popular speaker and lecturer in the Norwegian-American community and in Norway.[24]

One of Waldemar Ager's favorite targets at the time was the analogy of America as a "melting pot." The Norwegian-Americans for the most part liked the idea as expressed in Israel Zangwill's play *The Melting Pot* (1909). Ager wrote about the evils of the melting pot more extensively and over a longer period of time than any other immigrant writer.

Contemporary critics of the melting pot have yet to add anything of significance to Ager's criticism of the melting pot. For example, Ager wrote in 1905, "Out of the melting pot comes a new man, a 'Super Citizen' with all the best traits of the different races and none of the bad ones. But the self designated American himself does not wish to mingle with the foreigners. He doesn't wish to assimilate with them or to absorb in himself the Russian, Pole, or Jew; but he wants these people to intermingle their traits with each other."[25] But, as eloquent as Ager could be on the necessity of avoiding the melting pot, only a small minority of Norwegian-Americans followed him.

The Fourth Period – "Assimilation, 1920-1930"

The entrance of the United States into the conflict in Europe in 1917 had a profound effect on the Norwegian immigrant community, and it affected all ethnic groups, particularly the Germans. At the time, many old stock Americans considered the Norwegian a type of German because both were of the Lutheran faith and shared common cultural characteristics. Before the war the Norwegians tended to be somewhat pro-German and anti-British. However when the United States entered the war against Germany, the Norwegian-Americans totally supported the war effort. This is not to say they appreciated the nativistic attitude of the American government. They particularly disliked President Woodrow Wilson's attack on "hyphened Americans." They resented the intensive effort that was made at the time to "Americanize" all the immigrants by whatever means possible. Institutions such as schools, civic clubs, and the business community all accepted the challenge to Americanize the immigrants.

The First World War also had a decided influence on the use of the Norwegian language among the immigrants. Einar Haugen has shown that there was a decided decline in the use of Norwegian. In 1918 there were some 9,000 churches that changed to English services. The overall decline between 1918-1948, a period of 30 years, was a constant 2.3 percent. This decline began when America entered the European conflict and can be attributed to the First World War.[26]

The fourth period may then be characterized as a time of "assimilation." By the 1920s the debate over the question of assimilation in the Norwegian-American community was over for all practical purposes. Kenneth Smemo has written of the Norwegian-American communities of the 1920s, "Permanent retention of the Norwegian language and culture was doomed, and there were but a few writers left in the old tradition, and they were writing for an aging and rapidly diminishing audience."[27] The Norwegian-American community had respect and affection for leaders like Waldemar Ager, but they were unwilling to follow them. They would have no part in striving for a cultural pluralism which to them was a vision that was unattainable and unrealistic in America. It is true that

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some Norwegian-Americans were at various periods in their history in the United States ambivalent in their attitude towards assimilation, yet in the end they chose assimilation.

A Comparison of Greeley's Six Step Theory and the Norwegian-American Experience

The question that remains for our consideration is how congruent is the Norwegian-American historiography, as dealt with in this paper, with Andrew Greeley's Six Step Theory of Ethnic Assimilation? Does Greeley's theory describe the Norwegian-American immigrant experience in America? The following is a comparison of Greeley's Six Step Theory and the degree of congruency or lack of congruency from the Norwegian-American experience.

As you recall, Greeley's first step is "cultural shock." What does the Norwegian-American historical data say about this step? The first period was "resignation to assimilation." Greeley is correct when he writes, "The patterns of behavior that were established in the Old World are jolted and jarred." However, sheer survival, as Greeley puts it, was not the only issue the Norwegian-Americans discussed, because the question of rapid assimilation and the necessity of learning English were given considerable attention during the first period of "resignation to assimilation."

Greeley's second step is "organization and emerging self-consciousness." The experience of the Norwegian-American in the second period, called "renewed ethnicity," corresponds rather closely with Greeley. As Greeley puts it, "Having survived the first trauma of integration, the elite of the community now become concerned about whether that which is distinctively theirs is going to be lost in the assimilation process. The language, the culture, the religion of the Old World must somehow be preserved." The motivating factor in the Norwegian-American community for cultural maintenance was the increase in the number of Norwegian immigrants who came after the Civil War. Greeley does not deal with the causes for step two.

Greeley's third step is "assimilation of the elite." Greeley argues that as the immigrant group achieves a measure of economic success they are able to give "gifted individuals the education that will help them to find their way into the mainstream . . . those who make it find it very difficult not to be ashamed of their ethnic background." Greeley admits that this "assimilation and alienation of elites" will vary from group to group. There were Norwegian immigrants who quickly assimilated into mainstream American society because they were ashamed of their ethnic background. This was, however, the exception rather than the rule. There is little historical evidence, except in the first period, of any resentment toward Norway or Norwegian culture. This can perhaps be accounted for

in part by the Norwegian immigrants who settled in rural, farm areas rather than in large cities as so many other immigrants did.

Greeley's fourth step is "militancy." Greeley writes about this step, "The immigrant group has become fully middle-class and even edges toward upper middle-class. It now is thoroughly, and at times violently, militant." He goes on to say that this is the time that Catholicism organizes all types of professional organizations. Although the Norwegian-Americans organized cultural societies, many of which are still in existence today, they were never organized as militant organizations. There is no evidence that the militancy stage existed in the Norwegian-American immigrant community.

Greeley's fifth step is "self-hatred and anti-militancy." Greeley states, "Self-hatred, latent in the first stages and hidden in the militancy in the fourth phase finally comes out in the fifth stage, and devastating criticism is aimed at almost every aspect of one's own tradition and almost every institution which strives to keep one's culture alive." The historical data on the Norwegian-Americans gives no indication that there was a stage remotely like what Greeley describes. This was a phase that simply did not exist in the Norwegian-American ethnic community.

Greeley's sixth step is "emerging adjustment." Greeley describes this in this way, "Finally, in the sixth stage, another generation appears, securely middle-class . . . such a generation is quite conscious of its ethnic origins; it does not feel ashamed of it and has no desire to run from it . . . trips are made to the old country, no longer to visit one's family, but out of curiosity." This certainly has been the case with the Norwegian-Americans. They founded the Norwegian-American Historical Association in 1925 — just one hundred years after the first Norwegian immigrants landed in the port of New York — secure enough now to reflect on their experience in America.[28]

Summary and Conclusions

To summarize, it would seem that congruency has been found with some of Greeley's Six Steps Theory of Ethnic Assimilation, but not with others in the experience of the Norwegian-American immigrants. Why is this the case? Perhaps the reason is that Greeley generalized from the ethnic experience of Roman Catholics, particularly the Irish. The Irish-Americans, unlike the Protestant Norwegians, had to come to terms with a host culture that was predominately Protestant and at times highly discriminatory and hostile towards them. The Protestant Norwegians, on the other hand, found that after most of the cultural differences between them and the old stock Americans were stripped away, there was a general basic agreement on religion and Protestant values. Both the Puritan heritage of the old stock Americans and the Lutheran heritage of the Norwegian was grounded firmly in the tradition of the Protestant

Reformation. It was therefore easier for Protestant northern European immigrants to assimilate into American society than it was for the Roman Catholic Irish, or the non-Protestant southern Europeans, who emigrated to the United States in great numbers after 1882. Thus the religious factor and the Protestant value orientation would seem to explain the lack of congruency of the Norwegian-Americans' historical data with steps four and five of Greeley's theory.

Notes

[1] Andrew M. Greeley, *Why Can't They Be Like Us?* (New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, 1969). Greeley uses "step" and "phase" interchangably in the chapter "Steps in Ethnic Assimilation" pp. 31-37.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[3] For a definitive treatment of Norwegian emigration see Theodore C. Blegen, *The Norwegian Migration to America: The American Transition* (Northfield: Norwegian American Historical Association, 1940). The first group of Norwegians to emigrate to America were from the city of Stavanger. Although there was a mixture of religious faiths aboard, the majority were Quakers under the leadership of Lars Larsen, who had been converted to the Quaker faith during the Napoleonic Wars.

[4] For an excellent treatment of the "Bygdelag" movement in America see Odd Sverre Lovoll, *A Folk Epic: The Bygdelag in America* (Northfield: N.A.H.A., 1975).

[5] Carlton C. Qualey, "A Typical Norwegian Settlement: Spring Grove, Minnesota," *Norwegian-American Studies*, Vol. 9 (Northfield: N.A.H.A., 1936) p. 157.

[6] Einar Haugen, *The Norwegian Language in America: A Study in Bilingual Behavior* Vol. 1 (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1969), p. 33. For an historical fiction account of psychopathology in migrant pioneer life see O.E. Rølvaag's classic, *Giants in the Earth* (New York: Harper & Row, 1927).

[7] Ole Munch Raeder in "Wisconsin Territory," in Blegen, *Land of Their Choice*, p. 209.

[8] Einar Haugen, "The Struggle Over Norwegian," *Norwegian-American Studies*, Vol. 17 (Northfield: N.A.H.A., 1952) p. 9.

[9] From Karen Larsen, "The Adjustment of a Pioneer Pastor to American Conditions, Laur. Larsen, 1857-1880," *Norwegian-American Studies*, Vol. 4 (Northfield: N.A.H.A., 1929), p. 5.

[10] As quoted in Haugen, *The Norwegian Language in America*, p. 38.

[11] *Fridheds-Banneret*, March 5, 1953.

[12] See Knud Langeland, *Normandene i Amerika* (Chicago: 1888). Langeland was a long time editor of the influential Norwegian language newspaper *Skandinaven*.

[13] See Magnus Nodtvedt, *Rebirth of Norway's Peasantry* (Tacoma: Pacific Lutheran University Press, 1965).

[14] Haugen, *The Norwegian Language in America*, p. 245.

[15] From a farewell speech by Paul Hjelm-Hansen, at Alexandria, Minnesota, Sept. 4, 1869, in Blegen, *Land of Their Choice*, p. 446.

[16] Milton Gordon has called this "anglo conformity." See his *Assimilation in American Life: the Role of Race, Religion and National Origin* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

[17] See John A. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America* (New York: G.P. Putnam and Sons, 1940), p. 14. Hawgood saw the tragedy of German-Americans as that of their refusal to be assimilated into American society. Today many would disagree with Hawgood's conclusion.

[18] Theodore Blegen has written on the large numbers of Norwegians leaving Norway at this time, "In the years from 1881-1885 the Irish emigration totaled per one thousand of population 15.83 whereas the Norwegian totaled 11.05, the German was 3.82 and the English 5.71. In general Norway appears to have had, next to Ireland, the greatest emigration of the nineteenth century in proportion to its population." *Norwegian Migration to America*, p. 22.

[19] Karen Larsen, p. 5.

[20] See Clifford E. Nelson and Eugene L. Fevold, *The Lutheran Church Among Norwegian-Americans*, Vol. I (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960).

[21] Odd S. Lovoll, (ed.) *Cultural Pluralism Versus Assimilation* (Northfield: N.A.H.A., 1977), p. 7.

[22] Haugen, *The Norwegian Language in America*, p. 248.

[23] During this period of "renewed emphasis on assimilation" (1900-1920) a small, but vocal minority opposed the increased use of English. Numerous societies were organized to maintain and promote Norwegian culture. In 1900 the Sons of Norway Lodge was organized "to encourage and maintain the Norwegian language in America." The "Norwegian Society in America" was organized in 1902 to promote Norwegian culture. Norwegian singing societies could be found in most Norwegian-American communities. Also the "Bydglag" movement of immigrants from the rural districts in Norway became a strong movement. Einar Haugen's evaluation of their efforts was that in spite of the fine speeches heard at the annual meetings of these societies their membership remained small and their influence was minimal. See Haugen, *The Norwegian Language in America*, p. 250.

[24] Waldemar Ager, "Our Cultural Possibilities," *Kvartalskrift*, April, 1905, in Lovell, Cultural Pluralism Versus Assimilation, p. 51. An ironic aspect is that when Waldemar Ager's last four children were confirmed in 1929 in the local Norwegian Lutheran church in Eau Claire, Wisconsin, the confirmation service was in English rather than Norwegian. See Clarence Kidde, "Declining Years of Waldemar Ager," *Norwegian-American Studies*, Vol. 28, 1979.

[25] In Lovell, *Cultural Pluralism Versus Assimilation*, p. 77-78.

[26] See Haugen, *The Norwegian Language in America*, pp. 255-58.

[27] Kenneth Smemo, "Waldemar Theodore Ager — 1869-1941," in Lovoll, *Cultural Pluralism Versus Assimilation*, p. 235.

[28] One indication of the Norwegian-Americans' strong desire to preserve their ethnic heritage in America was the founding of the Norwegian-American Historical Association in 1925. See Add S. Lovoll and Kenneth O. Bjork, *The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1925-1975*, (Northfield: N.A.H.A., 1975).

Ethnicity and Ethnic Studies Revisited

Mark M. Krug
University of Chicago

It is becoming increasingly clear that the whole "Roots" phenomenon and ethnic studies are in trouble in schools, colleges and universities and that soon concerns with "multi-cultural education" will be heard with less and less frequency at the annual meetings of various associations of educators. The movement toward ethnic awareness and ethnic values which achieved such popularity only a few years ago seems to have lost much of its freshness and impact and some of its popularity. It may well be that unless some intelligent retrenchment and redefinition of the concept of ethnicity is made, the entire movement for the introduction of multi-cultural education into the school curricula may, in time, become just another of the forgotten educational fads. That this is a real possibility can be easily ascertained by talking to the social studies editors of the leading textbook publishing companies. These experts in "what the teachers want" and what "sells in the field" tell us that to publish a new textbook today on ethnic studies, or putting too much multi-cultural content in a social studies textbook, is to invite financial disaster.

The opposite was true only a short time ago. The same editors exhorted textbook writers to put in more and more materials on black history, on Hispanics, on Polish-Americans, Italian-Americans, Jews and other white ethnic groups. It was generally agreed that American history textbooks, and school curricula generally, were written and constructed with an in-built Anglo-Saxon bias which had to be purged and eliminated. Mildred Dickerman, who is white and a professor of anthropology at Sonoma State College in California, wrote in the 1973 *Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies*, "American schools are racist by design. Their racism is part of a larger philosophy, an ethnocentric dedication to the remodeling of citizens to conform to a single homogeneous acceptable model."[1]

Similar statements were delivered to many national conferences of educators in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and they were usually greeted by thunderous applause. But if a speaker were to say what Professor Dickerman said in 1973 today, it is reasonable to assume that, at best, he or she would be greeted by an embarrassed silence. Few educators, even among revisionist historians, accept in 1981 the unsupported and unsupportable generalization that "American schools are racist by design" or that all American schools have molded and are molding children into a single homogeneous model. That statement simply contradicts ample and available evidence. In fact, our society is still very heterogeneous, composed of a core American society and a great variety of racial and ethnic groups. Curricula in schools throughout the nation have never been

as disjointed, as lacking in any uniform pattern or uniform content as they are today. Thus, it makes little sense to generalize about the "racist" character of American schools.

In the early '70s, Professor James Banks, a black professor at Washington State University, wowed his large audiences of teachers and administrators by his demand that history courses be reorganized and that social studies teachers be required to teach American and world history in consecutive periods of time, from an Anglo-Saxon, Black, Hispanic, Jewish, Polish and Italian point of view. Today, such a suggestion would be considered an aberration, and rightly so.

In the same *1973 Yearbook* of the National Council for the Social Studies, Professor Banks wrote that "the ultimate goal of social studies for 'Black students' should be to make them effective *political activists*. . . . We must radicalize Black and other colonialized students so that they will continually challenge the position of those in power."[2]

There does seem to be no need to belabor the point that such confused and confusing rhetoric by a man who is now the incoming president of the National Council for Social Studies, would not be acceptable in the early 1980s. It is reasonable to assume that Professor Banks himself would recoil if he were to re-read these lines that he wrote only a few years ago.

It is no secret, except to a few, that bilingual instruction is in serious trouble. The Reagan administration has greatly curtailed its support for bilingual efforts. Again, let us contrast some statements made on bilingual education about a decade ago with today's reality. Many Latino educators argued a few years ago that there was no such thing as an *American* culture. The United States, they wrote, was a multi-cultural society, a "mosaic of cultures." Ethnic resurgence, they argued, would transform America into a multi-cultural and multi-lingual society. Few Spanish-American educators were ready to accept transitional bilingual instruction, which would end when Spanish-speaking students would acquire basic skills in English. Dr. Jose Cardenas, president of the Intercultural Research Association and a professor at the University of Texas at El Paso, wrote:

> I don't think there is any advantage in limiting bilingual education to the transitional model. In fact, it is very disadvantageous to have a transitional model. Americans value, and should value, other language competence.[3]

Dr. Josue M. Gonzales of Southern Methodist University stated that transitional bilingual education "helps maintain the outdated melting pot syndrome which discourages cultural pluralism in American society."[4] According to these statements it was desirable for America to become a multi-language society.

I have no doubt that now, in the fall of 1981, Drs. Cardenas and Gonzales would be happy to have an assurance that the federal and state governments intended to support only transitional bilingual education.

The statement of policy published by the Chicago Board of Education in 1973, entitled, "A Comprehensive Design for Bilingual Education," contained a strong endorsement of bilingual education because it allowed Spanish-speaking children "to compete educationally, socially, and economically as first-class citizens." The statement viewed bilingual education as helping to keep Spanish-speaking families together by fostering and strengthening Spanish linguistic and cultural ties.[5] This assumption in an official document of the Chicago Board of Education is but only one example of the loose thinking and writing that has been so typical in official pronouncements of the supporters of bilingual and ethnic studies. No empirical evidence was offered to support the assertion that bilingual education strengthens family life among the Latinos. In fact, scholarly evidence to support this assertion does not exist and, secondly, a legitimate question could be asked whether it is or should be postulated that the strengthening of family ties is or should be the business of the school.

The claim that bilingual education helps Spanish-speaking students toward their educational, social and economic upward mobility, has been contradicted by a number of studies. A study released on May 8, 1978, by the United States Office of Education claimed that bilingual education was not very effective. The investigation was conducted by the American Institute for Research of Palo Alto, California and focused on 38 federally funded bilingual projects, in which 5,300 students were enrolled in 117 schools. The study concluded that only one third of the students had a deficiency in English language skills before they entered the bilingual classes and that 85 percent of the students were kept in these programs long after they were capable of attending English classes.[6] Thus the report suggested these programs were obviously guided by political and not educational principles.

The proliferation of bilingual education programs in the United States was substantial. A well-prepared and concerted drive was launched to induce Congress and the state legislatures to appropriate large amounts of money for bilingual studies in Spanish. These efforts were eminently successful. In 1968, Congress passed the Bilingual Education Act, upholding the right of more than a dozen minority groups to have their respective languages taught in public schools. Since, in fact, with few minor exceptions, Poles, Jews, Italians and other ethnic groups did not want their ancestral languages taught in the public schools, almost all the monies appropriated by Congress under the bill went for Spanish instruction.

In 1978, the federal government subsidized 564 bilingual projects at the expense of $180 million. Simultaneously, 31 state legislatures (some

with very small Spanish-speaking minorities) adopted bills requiring state support for bilingual classes. The total amount appropriated under these bills exceeded $400 million. The arguments for the passage of these bills included reasonable pleas that children of recent Mexican and Puerto Rican immigrants needed special assistance before they could benefit from instruction in English. There were also more complex arguments that Spanish language was an expression of a separate culture which must be preserved on the American soil. In that period of great popularity of ethnicity and the popularity of ethnic roots, loyalties, and values, when raising questions about ethnic rights would expose the questioner to accusations of racism or bigotry, few dared to ask the questions why the same arguments did not apply in the period between 1880 and 1910, when hundreds of thousands of children of Polish, Greek, Croatian, Jewish, Chinese and Italian immigrants were enrolled in the American public schools and subjected to an intensive Americanization process. The history of the United States since 1900 would seem to indicate that in spite of shortcomings, so eloquently pointed out by revisionist historians of education, these immigrants prospered and that their economical, political and social upward mobility was indeed remarkable.

One of the most often used arguments by the spokesmen for Spanish-American groups to persuade state legislatures to legitimize and to give financial aid to bilingual education was the Lau v. Nichols case. This is a glaring example of how a complex judicial finding can be used by unwary or uncaring politicians, to achieve their aims. The Lau v. Nichols case has been repeatedly cited by supporters of bilingual education and of ethnic studies as a mandate from the United States Supreme Court to provide federal and state funds for minority language and cultural studies. In fact, a careful reading of this case and of the Supreme Court opinion does not fully support this contention. In 1974, the Supreme Court ruled on a final appeal filed in San Francisco on behalf of a group of Chinese-speaking students who complained that they were discriminated against by being taught in English, a language which they did not know. After lengthy litigation, the Supreme Court in a typically vague decision ordered relief for the Chinese students but it did not specify what form the relief should take. Chicano leaders interpreted the decision as a victory for the cause of bilingual education and HEW chose to accept this interpretation instead of ordering special courses in basic English skills for Chinese students — a course which also would have been consistent with the Supreme Court decision.

Leaders of Spanish-speaking organizations were unfortunately not satisfied by the success that they have achieved. Some of them began to talk openly about the secession of California, Arizona and New Mexico on the basis that their territories belonged to Mexico before the 1846 Mexican-American war. Somehow this foolish talk failed to evoke the response it deserved from the leaders of professional organizations of educators and it did not cause state legislatures, even the three affected

states, to review their bilingual legislation. Professor Rudolpho Acuna asserted in his book, *Occupied America — The Chicano's Struggle Toward Liberation*, that in the 1846-48 war with Mexico, the United States illegally conquered and annexed the Mexican Pacific southwest and it is therefore incumbent upon America to return that territory to its rightful owner.

Acuna wrote: "I hold that Anglo control of Mexican northwest territory (California, New Mexico, Arizona, etc.) is an occupation of a part of the American Hemisphere."[7] It has to be noted that Acuna is a professor of history at California State University, Northridge.

Professor Carlos Cortès of the University of California at Riverside argued in an article on Mexican-Americans that "Chicanos are only partially an immigrant, ethnic group. They are also partially a conquered and annexed ethnic group."[8]

The reaction to this strange rhetoric of some of the self-appointed spokesmen of the Mexican-American was slow in coming but when it came it was drastic and equally extreme. The blame for the harsh reaction from the federal government and the American people must, at least in part, rest squarely on the shoulders of those leaders of several minority groups and especially of the Spanish-speaking groups who pushed too hard, and demanded too much. Representative Parren J. Mitchel of Maryland, who is widely considered to be one of the ablest black Congressmen, told a *New York Times* correspondent recently, "We Blacks have exhibited an extreme degree of assertiveness which has obviously turned off some people."[9]

The reaction to excessive demands for bilingual education was particularly harsh. In a special referendum held in 1979 in Dade County, Florida, the U.S. county with the largest concentration of Spanish-speaking residents, voters overwhelmingly passed a proposition repealing a 1973 ordinance which declared Dade County to be "a bilingual county." The adopted proposition stated that "the expenditure of county funds for the purpose of utilizing any language other than English, or promoting any culture other than that of the United States, is prohibited."

This referendum had a chilling effect on the leaders of the Spanish-speaking groups in Miami and in its surrounding area. They have tried as best they could ever since to salvage as much as they could of bilingual education by the use of state and federal funds. But, significantly, they cooled down their rhetoric and ceased to speak of America as a multi-lingual and multi-cultural country. Hopefully some leaders of minority groups throughout the country would also desist from talking about the demands for "cultural autonomy" for their groups and rest their case on the reasonable argument that ethnic and racial minority groups should be allowed in this nation of immigrants which has developed an over-arching American culture to foster their special values, mores, interests,

hopes and aspirations. Ethnic spokesmen would do well, in this period of danger to their dreams and programs to reinterate the slogan of "unity in diversity," which was coined by Horace Kallen, the father of the concept of cultural pluralism. There is little doubt that the American public would respond positively to such an approach. As matters stand now, President Reagan has a great deal of support from a cross-section of American voters in his opposition to bilingual education and his stress on national unity. All he has to do is to point to the political and social havoc caused in Canada by the controversy over the predominance of the French language and French culture in the Canadian province of Quebec.

The negative reaction to bilingual education has caused the Department of Education to slow down the search for federal guidelines for bilingual programs, and the future of the Bilingual Education Act and the Ethnic Heritage Act is in question. The demise of the Ethnic Heritage Act would indeed be a grievous mistake and would constitute an injustice to the ethnic groups which fought hard for its passage. Under this act many effective ethnic studies programs have been initiated. Once again it must be noted that the shrill and extreme demands voiced by minority groups have brought about an equally exaggerated response.

What is to be learned from this experience?

First, if ethnic studies are not to soon become one of the quickly forgotten fads, the intellectual leaders of the ethnic groups will have to do more than just mouth empty slogans like "Black is beautiful," "Polish is beautiful," or glib generalizations about the great thirst among the third and fourth generation of Jews, Poles, Italians, blacks and Hispanics to know their roots. As the eminent sociologist Gunnar Myrdal pointed out, the whole movement of ethnic revival produced very little scholarly research and little data to support its sweeping generalizations.[10] Myrdal asserted that "what is obviously needed in America is a much higher identification with the nation as a whole, not merely people identifying within their separate ethnic groups."[11]

Equally important and urgent is for writers on ethnicity, such as Michael Novak, Andrew Greeley, Nathan Glazer and Geno Baroni, to answer the impressive research findings of such black scholars as Thomas Sowell and Orlando Patterson, who argue that economic factors and long-standing educational values and traditions are far more important in low attainments and a low status of racial and ethnic groups than racial prejudice and discrimination. "Why one group," writes Sowell, a professor of economics at the University of California at Los Angeles, "does better economically than another is a complex question. But the presence of Jews and Japanese at the top of the income ladder among American ethnic groups is strong evidence that prejudice or discrimination alone is hardly a sufficient explanation."[12] By implication, Sowell rejects the simplistic and unsupported generalization made a few years ago by

Michael Novak in his book, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*,[13] who laid the blame for the low social and economic status of the minority groups on the rapacious, arrogant and xenophobic WASPS. Whether Sowell is correct in his extreme position of denying that racial discrimination was an important factor in the low status of blacks is very questionable.

Orlando Patterson, a professor of sociology at Harvard University, in his carefully researched book, *Ethnic Chauvinism — The Reactionary Impulse*,[14] developed the thesis that intellectual leaders of the white ethnic groups opted for what he calls ethnic chauvinism because they found in it a convenient way for freeing themselves from fighting against racial discrimination, against cuts in welfare programs and for jobs for minority groups. Whether Sowell, Patterson, and William J. Wilson, the University of Chicago sociologist who shares their views, are right or wrong, their position must be given careful consideration in any discussion of ethnic issues.

The drastic negative reaction to the pressure for ethnic rights and for bilingual education may yet have a beneficial result. It may bring about a more reasoned and scholarly debate of this complex issue.

Ethnicity and ethnic ties that bind various minority groups are a reality in the present American society. Ethnic loyalties, be it the devotion of American Poles and American Jews to a free Poland and free Israel, respectively, or the strong feelings of Italian-Americans about shared cultural values seem to be very strong and enduring. The same, for obvious reasons, is true of the racial minorities, blacks, Hispanics, Chinese-Americans and Japanese Americans who in addition to their inability to assimilate into the dominant American society, share to one extent or another the trauma of past and present discrimination.

What seems to be urgently required in this period of retrospection about ethnicity and the "Roots phenomenon" is to enlist academic scholars to do some imaginative and objective research in this complex field in which most of the writings were up to now tainted by bias and emotionalism.

We are now experiencing a cooling off period. Hopefully, those of us who are fascinated by the stubborn and unexpected survivability of ethnic diversity in our society will take full advantage of this opportunity to make a more meaningful and more scholarly contribution to the thinking and writing about new directions in multi-cultural issues and studies.

Notes

[1] Mildred Dickerman, "Teaching Cultural Pluralism" in 43rd Yearbook, National Council for the Social Studies, *Teaching Ethnic Studies*, James A. Banks, editor, National Council for the Social Studies, Washington, D.C., 1973, p. 5.

[3] *Yearbook*, N.C.S.S., 1973, p. 152.

[3] *El Pitirre News, Newsletter*, published by Aspira-Rockefeller Program, Washington, D.C., 1978, p. 4.

[4] Noel Epstein, *Language, Ethnicity, and the Schools*, Institute for Educational Leadership, The George Washington University, Washington, D.C., 1977, p. 17.

[5] *A Comprehensive Design for Bilingual Education*, Chicago Board of Education, Chicago, 1973, p. 14.

[6] Mark M. Krug, "Bilingual Education — Let us Clarify the Issues," *Social Education*, February 11, 1979, p. 113.

[7] Rudolpho Acuna, *Occupied America — The Chicano's Struggle for Liberation*, Canfield Press, San Francisco, 1972, pp. 2-3.

[8] Carlos E. Cortes, "Chicanos: Historiography of a Conquered/Immigrant People," the *Immigration History Newsletter*, November 1977, Immigration History Society, Minneapolis, Minn., p. 1.

[9] *New York Times*, June 3, 1981, p. 11.

[10] Gunnar Myrdal, "The Case Against Romantic Ethnicity," *The Center Magazine*, Center for Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California, p. 7.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[12] Thomas Sowell, "Myths about Minorities," *The Commentary*, August, 1979, p. 35.

[13] Michael Novak, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*, Macmillan Co., New York, 1972.

[14] Orlando Patterson, *Ethnic Chauvinism — The Reactionary Impulse*, Stein and Day, New York, 1977.

PART III

Educational Paradigms

Two Christian Ideas of Childhood: Clement of Alexandria and Augustine

J.J. Chambliss
Rutgers University

In Greek and Roman antiquity, the early years of children's lives were not valued for their own sake, but for the sake of that which they were taken to be capable of becoming. This was the prevailing attitude toward childhood. H.I. Marrou puts it this way in his *History of Education in Antiquity:*

> The Ancients — who were not interested in the child as such, being concerned only with the ultimate ends of education — took little interest in . . . [childhood] . . . and in fact they did not look upon it as part of *paideia* in the proper sense of the word at all.[1]

This attitude is epitomized by a sub-heading in his concluding chapter on education in classical Greece, "Man not Child the Standard." Marrou writes, "The whole aim of this education was the formation of adults, not the development of the child."[2] Even though the word *paideia* has "child" in it, Marrou goes on, "this needs to be translated as 'the treatment to which a child should be subjected' — to turn him into a man."[3] This attitude accounts for the absence of infant schools or kindergartens, the severity of the discipline, and what Marrou calls the "abstract analytical character" of school exercises.

Children were sent to school at the age of seven. Before going to school, they were allowed to play, with the result that their preschool education was informal for the most part. They learned to speak the language, of course, and listened to nurses' songs and stories. Thus the first age of childhood was lived through until the shaping of mind and character began in schools. One might suppose that the freedom to play and the lack of adult harassment about "readiness" — getting them ready for nursery school, for kindergarten, for reading, and the like — is an indication that the Greeks had an unusual kind of concern for early childhood as such. Not so, says Marrou:

> The Greeks did not look upon it as important; it was merely . . . 'childishness.' The Ancients would have laughed their heads off if they could have seen our infant-school and kindergarten specialists . . . gravely studying the educational value of the most elementary games. . . . The general attitude towards them [children] was one of amused indulgence — it was all so unimportant! To educate children for themselves alone, for the sake of their childishness, as our modern educators are determined to do, would have seemed to the Ancients absolutely pointless.[4]

We are left with the impression that, in a certain sense, the ancient Greeks practiced what Rousseau, centuries later, urged us to do for children: "Not to gain time but to lose it."[5] Yet it appears that Greek children were allowed to lose time because adults were not interested in childhood for its own sake. Children were let alone, not because it was important to do so, but because childhood doesn't matter.

Marrou's characterization of the conception of childhood and the educational practices that prevailed in Greek antiquity is well supported in the literature on Greek education and culture. What is more, that conception and its accompanying practices continued in the Roman schools after they adopted Hellenistic education. Stanley F. Bonner, in a recent work, *Education in Ancient Rome*, puts it in this way: "The Romans were not so much concerned to give children what they liked to do as what they knew to be essential for their adult life."[6] And in *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West*, Pierre Riché writes: "Romans, like Greeks, were not interested in the child or even in the adolescent. The goal of education *(humanitas)* was to form the adult 'man' and not to preoccupy itself with the development of youth."[7] Furthermore, Riche points out, the Roman pedagogical principles were carried into the Christian schools which developed after the collapse of Roman civilization. "Christian pedagogical principles . . . complemented those of the Romans,"[8] he writes. The findings of Bonner and Riché, among others, tend to corroborate Marrou's characterization of the prevailing conception of childhood, not only in Greek antiquity but in Roman antiquity as well.

In *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West*, Riché refers to a lost opportunity in the educational work of Christians in the Roman world; the opportunity to modify educational principles and the concept of the child.[9] While pointing out that the Romans, like the Greeks, did not interest themselves in the child, Riché says that "Christianity could have recognized the distinctive attributes of childhood and transformed the spirit of education while remaining true to the teaching of its founder."[10] Yet, for the most part, Ancient Christians followed the pedagogical methods along with the treatment of children that had prevailed in Greek practices and had continued when Rome adopted Hellenistic education. Pope Leo the Great in the 5th century was an exception; he "stood almost alone," Riché says. In a sermon, Leo said: "Christ loved childhood, mistress of humility, rule of innocence, model of sweetness."[11] Inasmuch as Leo the Great did not leave any educational work in which he spelled out the meaning of the ideas on childhood that are suggested in this sentence, we must look elsewhere. Fortunately, there is such a work, the *Paedagogus* of Clement of Alexandria,[12] which is just the sort of writing that could have inspired a sentence like the one in Leo's sermon.

Augustine's idea of childhood is a different one. He is singled out by

Riché as one who encouraged the use of corporal punishment on children and even severer measures on adolescents, and thus complemented Roman educational principles.[13] Even though Augustine, like most ancients, did not devote a treatise to the nature of childhood, what he wrote in his *Confessions*, *The City of God* and in certain anti-Pelagian treatises on childhood is sufficient to enable us to construct a sketch of his idea of childhood. In constructing this sketch, we will consider another Christian idea of childhood that emerged in antiquity which was to stand alongside the strikingly different conception of Clement. In discussing their ideas of childhood, we shall find that "recognizing the distinctive attributes of childhood" (to refer to Riché's sentence above) — even if it had been pursued in a thorough-going way by Christians — would not have led to a unanimity of opinion among Christians in regard to pedagogical principles. This is so because the "distinctive attributes of childhood" as recognized by Clement and Augustine brought forth not one, but two meanings of childhood.

1. Clement of Alexandria (150-220). As Werner Jaeger points out, in his *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia*, Clement was one of the founders of Christian philosophy.[14] While it is not our purpose here to discuss Christian philosophy for its own sake, it is necessary to put it in a perspective which has a bearing on Clement's idea of childhood. Clement recognized Greek philosophy as the propaideia of Christian philosophy, and portrays Christ as the divine educator in his *Paedagogus*. As Jaeger puts it, "Only the propaideia comes from man; the true paideia itself comes from God."[15] Plato had said in the *Laws:* "God is the pedagogue of the whole world."[16] Clement, as a Christian, could look back and read Plato as suggesting an essential proposition of the philosophic propaideia. It is as if Plato had recognized part of the larger truth which is made possible, not by philosophy alone, but by philosophy's meanings altered and perfected by divine providence. In Clement is the beginning of a philosophy of history, or rather a Christian theology of history, in which philosophy is recognized as a useful though incomplete propaideia. Philosophy teaches us, but in imperfect and incomplete ways. The true, the perfect pedagogue, is Christ, whose teachings enable men to fulfill their nature in a degree higher than any merely human teachings can do.

It is in this context that Clement discusses Christ as the educator of human beings, using the Scriptures for his text. The Bible, unlike philosophic texts, is not the result of a human search for truth, but contains truths revealed to human beings by God. It is important to understand that Clement conceives his work *Paedagogus* to be based on divine revelation — on the words of God revealed to men — rather than on human inquiry. The humanism and naturalism of the philosophers — human striving in a natural world — are found wanting, and are superseded by divine initiative. The humility of Plato's philosopher, unable to find perfection in an

imperfect world, is replaced by the humility of the Christian, who believes that his imperfections take their place in a universe which is transcended by a perfect Being. To be a Christian, one must understand that a simple way of life, not one complicated by philosophical investigations, is to be exalted.

As explained by the Scriptures, "We are the children," Clement says.[17] That is, full-grown Christian men and women, as well as their children, are called "children" by Christ. In the Gospels, Jesus called his disciples children;[18] in another place Christians are referred to as young birds;[19] in another as young colts;[20] in still another, as lambs.[21] They are also called young sucklings calves[22] and guileless and meek doves.[23] By referring to Christians as young ones, Jesus lets us know that "Children are those who look upon God alone as their father, who are simple, little ones, uncontaminated."[24] What Jesus encourages grown-up Christians to do is to imitate children and, as little children do with their earthly parents, to "devote themselves to the Father alone."[25]

In the Scriptures, Jesus discusses those who are children of grown-ups in ways which point to the child-like qualities which are most praiseworthy: "gentleness and simplicity of mind and guilelessness," Clement says, are praised "before all other qualities men can possess."[26] The simplicity of soul which belongs to childhood, Clement argues, is recommended by Jesus for our imitation. This is the meaning of the Lord's admonition, "Unless you turn and become like little children, you shall not enter into the Kingdom of heaven."[27] Clement insists that these words are not a figure of speech for a kind of rebirth; they mean, in a direct way, that the simplicity of childhood is to be imitated. Clement also holds that Jesus "likened the Kingdom of heaven to 'children seated in the market-place.' "[28] Again, Jesus said: "Let the little children be, and do not hinder them from coming to Me, for such is the kingdom of heaven."[29] Clement insists again and again that it is the youngest ones, in their innocence, who are most worthy of being imitated; he refers to their simplicity of mind in some places, their simplicity of soul in others.

Clement knows full well that the non-Christian world looks upon such adoration of innocence as foolishness. While drawing upon the conventional wisdom of the propaideia which defines education "as a sound training from childhood in the path of virtue,"[30] it is clear that the Christian Clement departs from the philosophic conception of virtue which insists that education is a process of growing away from simplicity and toward sophistication. Indeed, what Jesus teaches us is that the sophistication of the philosophers which we have learned must be overcome by imitating the non-sophisticated young ones, by becoming child-like. That Christians must do this, if they are to enter the kingdom of heaven, is not something which Clement learned from philosophers, but from the divine logos.

In saying that "we also call the most excellent and perfect possessions

in life by names derived from the word 'child,' that is, education and culture (paidagogis and paideia, from pais)."[31] Clement means to contrast the traditional non-Christian paideia with the new Christian one. It is as if the traditional conception of paideia — with its meaning of the highest ideal of excellence pursued by those minds who can learn to become disciplined only in the pursuit of the best — has prepared minds to receive the Christian conception of paideia — with its meaning that the best ideal, the one most worthy of imitation, is to be found in the innocent simplicity of childhood. Clement not only took childhood seriously, but he went much further — or, rather, he returned to childhood — and found there not a nature to be understood and changed to its highest form, but a nature with qualities worthy of being admired and imitated by grown-ups. We aim to realize our highest nature by first trying to imitate the virtues of children living in our midst. The best prospects for "Christian virtue" among God's children on earth are to be found in the natural innocence possessed by the youngest of them.

Clement contrasts "the world's" conception of the child with the one he is making explicit — that of Christ the educator — when he says that to lay aside the cares of life and give heart and mind to God, will be taken by God in one sense and by the world in quite another sense. "Whoever fulfills this command is a little one, indeed, and a child, both before God and the world: to the world, in the sense of one who has lost his wits; to God, in the sense of one dearly beloved."[32] The world's sense that children are witless derives from the expectation that education should enable one to get his wits about him by becoming wiser in this world; perfection, when it is an aim of philosophic paideia, is sought in and among the things of this world. Philosophers of the world attempt to become larger in understanding, not to remain "little" but to enlarge themselves. By contrast, God loves the "little ones," for just the ways the philosophers strive to overcome. The very qualities that enable us to call them children stand in opposition to the prideful seekings of the philosophers; indeed, children are innocent of those kind of seekings. What grown-ups should try to imitate in the little ones is simplicity rather than complexity; being uncontaminated rather than worldly-wise; little rather than large; meek rather than prideful.

To be a little one, however, is not to be lacking in intelligence. Clement distinguishes "childishness" — which does mean lacking in intelligence — from "childlikeness" — which refers to those who are gentle, "decidely amenable, mild and simple, without deceit or pretense, direct and upright of mind."[33] One who is childlike rather than childish tends to be simple and truthful, by virtue of being "tender" and thus prepared to receive the truth. The tenderness lies in being "guileless as to what is evil," while remaining "wise as to what is good."[34] To be likened to children who are simple and innocent is to be "one newly become gentle,"[35] in short, one who has put aside the values of the worldly-wise,

and has left oneself "open" in two ways: 1) to the criticism of the world, and 2) to receive the wisdom that is possible for one who has put aside worldly things and looks to the Lord for instruction. In one sense, "child" is reserved for those who are learning truly, and "man" is reserved for those who are "complete" — i.e., who are complete in wickedness. To trust in the things of the world, then, is to leave oneself open to wickedness, to becoming "man in the sense that he is consummate in wickedness."[36] From Clement's Christian perspective, one who is open to receive the things only an innocent one is capable of receiving is also open to the criticism of the world, because such a one is not willing to receive the things which make human beings "consummate in wickedness."

We see here a fundamental break from what Jaeger has called the propaideia of the philosophers. It is a suspending of the values of this world in order to leave oneself open to the teachings of Christ. If we can do this, we may regain the sort of innocence that we had as little children. It is not just that Christ teaches us different "values;" it is, instead, something more radical and more significant: what Christ teaches really cannot be learned by merely adding on his teachings to what philosophers teach us. The paideia of Christ is of a different order; it can only be learned by those who, like children, are naturally innocent, or by those who, like grown-up Christians, have newly become gentle, who have laid aside "the cares of life and give[n] [their] whole mind and heart to the Father alone."[37]

So far we have spoken of a sense in which children live, first of all, in innocence. In this sense, the idea of childhood suggests a way of being that grown-ups must take on if they are to become wise according to the paideia of Christ rather than according to the paideia of the philosophers. Yet childhood has another meaning, one for which the propaideia of the philosophers prepared Christians. The human conception of paideia — particularly that of Plato — had emphasized the eternal character of the highest ideal of culture. For Plato, the activity of human reason in working toward the understanding it is capable of realizing does so by moving away from childhood, coming to terms with a higher kind of goodness, to be understood in more and more mature ways during the course of inquiry. The eternal is an ideal which can be fully realized, if at all, only at the end of inquiry. What is eternal is known at the completion of the search, not at the beginning. Yet Christ the educator teaches us differently, according to Clement. The incorruptible, the eternal, is the childlike, not the mature. The Christians are the "new people;" they must be new to partake of the word of God. The "old people" have not been enlightened as Christians have; inasmuch as the latter have looked to God's teachings and away from the teachings of the philosophers, they have learned from the "new Word." Yet the new Word is eternal; to believe in it Christians are like children who are new to the world. In this sense, then, the eternal is with the children who are innocent and guile-

less, rather than with those who have learned the ways of the world.

The reversal of the place of maturity and immaturity in the world's conception of childhood in Christian paideia is dramatized by Clement's insistence that the immaturity of childhood has a wisdom of its own. In one sense, childhood symbolizes a way of looking at the world that is not only the "new way" of Christian paideia — a way which is not only different from philosophic propaideia but comes only in being innocent of that paideia, or in putting it behind one — at the same time, it must not be thought of as lacking in reason. "He does not mean by 'little child' one who has not yet reached the use of reason because of his immaturity, as some have thought."[38] Clement means that a little child has a reason of its own, not that which is expressed in the language and with the subject matters of the philosophers, but one which has its own way of being in the world. It is the sort of reason which is given expression through the divine logos and is revealed in the Holy texts. The world it portrays consists of things not known to the ways of "the world" of men; the latter world cannot comprehend the divine logos. Thus the rationality of the philosophic propaideia, while mature in its own way, and while explaining the wisdom of the "old people," is immature in reference to the Christian paideia, and lacks the fresn confidence that comes with the holy wisdom of the divine logos. Little ones have an innocence which, if possessed by grown-ups, would be a maturity for them, for it would mean that grown-ups had put aside the immaturity of philosophic wisdom and, in doing so, had prepared themselves to cultivate holy wisdom. In doing this, they may be able to look upon God as their father, even as children look upon their human fathers — in a pure, direct, and simple way.

In one place, in speaking of Christians, Clement says, "After we have repented of our sins, renounced our wickedness and been purified by baptism, we turn back to the eternal light, as children to their Father."[39] Quoting Luke 10:21, where Jesus remarks that his Father hid things from wise and prudent people and "revealed them to little ones,"[40] Clement insists that Jesus means that the little ones are more ready for salvation than those who are wise in the ways of the world. Again, it is those innocent in the ways of the world to whom the best things, the things highest by nature, are revealed. That which is eternal appears to those immature as the little ones are, not to those mature in the ways of the world. Once more, the order of values found in the philosophic propaideia is reversed: there the innocent little ones were incapable of experiencing the best; wisdom came, if at all, only to the wordly wise. In Christian paideia, the innocent are the ones best prepared to receive the highest teachings; the worldly wise have to "unlearn" what their reason and experience have taught them is the highest and the best by nature if they are to become innocent.

Clement does not merely celebrate the beauty and integrity of childhood, but finds in childhood innocence a kind of wisdom to be exalted

beyond the wisdom sought in the philosophic propaideia. Childhood innocence is prized, not for anything incomplete or unfulfilled in it — as the philosophic propaideia viewed childhood — but for the expression of a kind of excellence which is complete in a way that the philosophers would not recognize or would not acknowledge. Little ones have the advantage over philosophers; in their innocence they have nothing to unlearn; experienced ones have to learn to be innocent.

II. Augustine (354-430). In his own way, Augustine contrasts the teachings of philosophers with "the commandments of the gods."[41] Some philosophers, Augustine writes, "by God's help, made great discoveries; but when left to themselves they were betrayed by human infirmity, and fell into mistakes."[42] Divine providence made this possible, for two reasons which complement one another: 1) to restrain the pride of human beings, and 2) to show, by human error, "that it is humility which has access to the highest regions."[43] Like Clement, Augustine points to the inadequacies of merely human discoveries in guiding human beings to virtue and blessedness, the insufficiency of human reason in gaining access to the highest truths, those of Christian doctrine. The discoveries of philosophers are the counterpart, in Augustine, of the philosophic propaideia which Clement recognized; and the ordering of things according to divine providence is Augustine's counterpart of the teachings of Christ the pedagogue in Clement. Yet the "counterparts" are not identical: each emphasizes the propaideia in different ways, and what divine providence orders for Augustine is not exactly what Christ teaches Clement.

While Clement, in his discussions of children, emphasizes their innocence — that which, in childhood, is worthy of imitation by grown-ups — Augustine emphasizes the ignorance, the suffering, and the inescapable burden which Adam's sin has put on all human beings, not sparing children. Augustine believes that "the grace of God is necessary for the acquisition, not indeed, of any philosophy, but of the pure philosophy."[44] And what is more, "from this hell upon earth there is no escape, save through the grace of the Saviour Christ, our God and Lord."[45] Clearly, then, the pride of human beings, in their merely human undertakings, is a condition from which we must escape; its value lies more in the "restraint" which it teaches us — we must restrain ourselves from supposing that we can escape the crimes of human society by our activities alone. Yet, even in humility, which is a virtue superior to the misplaced hopes which pride leads us to have, we cannot be assured that we shall enter the kingdom of Heaven. Only by God's grace may we do that. Humility is a necessary condition of Christian paideia which we have to learn in order to overcome pride, a condition of the philosophic propaideia. Even so, humility is a merely human condition, and is not sufficient in itself to overcome the ignorance which is a natural part of the human condition — a part of the nature of all the children of Adam.

Not only the crimes of the most wicked men, but the sins of children "spring from that sort of error and misplaced love which is born with every son of Adam."[46] In referring to his own childhood in the *Confessions*, Augustine said that he had been "so small a boy and so great a sinner."[47] Augustine could not remember his infancy; but he had observed infants and saw in them what he had been. The innocence of infants, Augustine held, is in their limbs, not in their wills.[48] He says that he had seen a baby envious; even though it could not speak, "it turned pale and looked bitterly on its foster-brother." We permit such things in infants, Augustine goes on, and learn to bear with them, not because they are not evils, "but because they will disappear as years increase."[49] He reminds us that we tolerate behavior in infants which would be intolerable in an older person. Augustine takes many opportunities to let his readers know that infant behavior is tolerated, not because infants are lacking in sin — not because they are morally innocent — but because they are incapable of knowing what they are doing.

When he became a boy, Augustine learned to speak; and, in speaking, he gave expression to his will in a different way. The power of speech led him deeper into the trials of human life. He prayed to God that he not be beaten at school; not only was he beaten, but his parents mocked his beatings.[50] He later came to understand that, in permitting him to be beaten, the Lord spared him from folly. It is folly for a child to transgress the commands of his parents and school-masters, even though parents and masters themselves act foolishly. Even so, the Lord used such errors for Augustine's good: "By those who did not well, Thou didst well for me; and by my own sin Thou didst justly punish me."[51] He makes essentially the same point in *The City of God*, when he writes:

> For what mean those multifarious threats which are used to restrain the folly of children? What mean pedagogues, masters, the birch, the strap, the cane, the schooling which Scripture says must be given a child, 'beating him on the sides lest he wax stubborn,' and it be hardly possible no nor possible at all to subdue him? Why all these punishments, save to overcome ignorance and bridle evil desires — these evils with which we come into the world?[52]

At one place in his *Confessions*, Augustine writes as if he is arguing against a Clement-like conception of childhood innocence. After citing a long list of transgressions remembered from his own childhood — including lies to various elders, love of play, petty thefts, desire of preeminence over his playmates — Augustine asked, "And is this the innocence of boyhood?" He cried out this reply: "Not so, Lord, not so."[53] The sins of childhood, he goes on to say, are transferred from the elders of childhood such as parents and school-masters to the elders of adulthood such as magistrates and kings, as one becomes older. The sins of childhood are but earlier versions of the sins of adulthood; it is a

mistake, therefore, to call them acts of "innocence." Lacking from Augustine's discussions of childhood is the sense of the innocence of Christ's "little ones" in Clement's discussions. Augustine simply seems not to recognize as innocent the sort of behavior in children which Clement identified as "childlikeness" — "amenable, mild and simple, without deceit or pretense, direct and upright of mind."[54] For Augustine, only the limbs of infants are innocent, not their wills.

Far from finding in little ones a guilelessness or a tenderness worthy of imitation by grown-ups, Augustine finds a nature with a will that is to be restrained from its tendencies, a soul that is prone to give expression to its lawless desires — desires with which it is born and which are fed by the lawlessness of the adult world. For Augustine, the child truly is father to the man; in the former are smaller versions of the sins of the latter. It should be obvious that, though "smaller" than adult sins, childhood sins are important in the eyes of the Lord, and so should be recognized as such by the child's earthly teachers.

Clement had referred to Jesus' statement, "Let the little children be, and do not hinder them from coming to Me, for such is the Kingdom of heaven,"[55] as the highest of praises, meaning that little ones are worthy of imitation, for their simplicity of mind and guilelessness are qualities to be praised "before all other qualities men can possess."[56] In decided contrast, Augustine writes, "It was the low stature then of childhood, which Thou our King didst commend as an emblem of lowliness, when Thou saidst, Of such is the kingdom of heaven."[57] Thus Augustine sees the sins of children as less severe than those of adults, as manifestations of the "low stature" of childhood. To put it differently, in the less severe sinfulness of childhood there is to be seen something of the kingdom of heaven; for all its sins, childhood is the emblem of lowliness among sinners. This is to say that, while children, like adults, are sinners, they are lesser sinners.

In the treatise, *On the Merits and Forgiveness of Sins, and On the Baptism of Infants*, a work written in opposition to the doctrines of the Pelagians, Augustine wrote at length on the meaning of infant sin. Pelagius had written, "Nothing that is good and evil, on account of which we are either praiseworthy or blameworthy, is born with us, — it is rather done by us; for we are born with capacity for either, but provided with neither."[58] This is, of course, an explicit denial of Augustine's doctrine that, because of Adam's sin, all of his successors are born corrupted. For Pelagius, the idea that nothing good or evil is born with us means that "there is no original sin in infants at all."[59] Pelagius' idea that we become good or evil, rather than being born either way, has certain affinities with Clement's idea of childlike innocence, yet is not identical with it. To be neither good nor evil is to lack any particular quality. Clement's innocence seems to be a good in itself; it is innocence of evil, yet characterized by a simplicity of soul, lacking sophistication in the ways of the world but

thereby possessing a certain presence, a kind of integrity of soul. What Clement and Pelagius do share is the idea that children are not sinful in their beginning. Their innocence is of will as well as of limb.

We have seen that Augustine argues, in the *Confessions*, that infants are not free from sin, that they are innocent only in limb. This means that certain activities which are tolerated by their elders are not innocent, but are due to a corruption of their nature as a consequence of Adam's sin. Thus Augustine can detect sin in infants' activities as soon as one can say that their wills are being expressed. In his treatise, *On the Merits and Forgiveness of Sins*, Augustine makes a distinction between 1) the sins of very young infants — "new born babes" — and 2) those of children who are learning to speak and are old enough to know their mothers and fathers.[60] It is the new-born infants in (1) that he is most concerned to discuss against the Pelagians' point of view, in order to establish the inescapability of holding to the doctrine of original sin. The evil in newborn infants is in their ignorance; it is their ignorance which needs to be purged away. This is the meaning of the prayer in Psalms XXIV:7, "Remember not the sins of my youth and of my ignorance," Augustine says.[61] That sentence would not have been necessary if there were no sins of ignorance, Augustine continues.[62] Thus infants do not knowingly commit their sins and hence are less to be condemned than older people who sin knowingly. This is a restatement of the point made earlier, that the lowly status accorded children among sinners is due to the lesser importance of their sins. Again, as in his *Confessions*, Augustine points out the mistake of those who call infants innocent, and points to the following weaknesses as evidence of sin implanted in them as clearer than anything which could be said to prove its presence: "their great weakness of mind and body, their great ignorance of things, their utter inability to obey a precept, the absence in them of all perception and impression of law, either natural or written, the complete want of reason to impel them in either direction."[63] Just look at infants; observe them and you will see that they are ignorant, Augustine tells us; in his *Confessions*, he tells us that he had looked at infants in order to understand how he had been in his own development, before he had knowledge and speech, before he was capable of sinning as in (2) above. Augustine says the fact of infant ignorance is so ubiquitous that "there is no place where I do not find traces of what I say."[64] Not being capable of learning how to sin, very young infants had to have it originally; it is natural to them as successors of Adam.

Enough has been said to show that Augustine, unlike Clement, does not find in infancy or in childhood an innocence that is worthy of imitation. In our growth we first sin out of ignorance and later — when we can speak and know — we sin knowingly. Thus our earlier sins are less severe than our later ones. Even so, Augustine finds something to admire in children, a kind of integrity in the midst of childhood sinning. In concluding the discussion of his own boyhood in the *Confessions*, Augus-

tine writes:

> For even then I was, I lived, and felt; and had an implanted providence over my own well-being, — a trace of that mysterious Unity, whence I was derived; — I guarded by the inward sense the entireness of my senses, and in these minute pursuits, and in my thoughts on things minute, I learnt to delight in truth, I hated to be deceived, had a vigorous memory, was gifted with speech, was soothed by friendship, avoided pain, baseness, ignorance.[65]

Human beings are capable of taking on certain virtues, such as truthfulness and friendship, and of avoiding certain vices. Indeed, Augustine adds to his earlier remark about himself as a boy — "so small a boy and so great a sinner" — its counterpart: "In so small a creature, what was not wonderful, not admirable?"[66] While children are "all-too-human" and cannot avoid sinning, they are capable of taking on a certain congruity or harmony with things in the midst of their sinful behavior. In fact, whatever integrity they gain must come into being in the midst of their sinfulness; it cannot be otherwise for them, for they are sinful by nature. We cannot attribute much to purely human abilities to gain virtuousness, however, for Augustine hastens to add that whatever virtues he learned as a boy "are gifts of my God; it was not I, who gave them me."[67] It is human to sin. It is also human to receive the gifts which give us integrity from God: "these [gifts] together are myself," Augustine adds.[68] For Augustine, then, the idea of childhood suggests not an innocence with an integrity of its own to be imitated, but a sinful way of being with its own integrity which is wonderful and admirable though not innocent.

After considering writings of Clement and Augustine that have a bearing on childhood, one conclusion stands out most clearly. It lies in their essentially different responses to the same Christian "attribute" of childhood — innocence. In childhood innocence, Clement finds an ideal in which those who are less innocent may find a prospect for their own behavior. For Clement, innocence is a good, a way of being in the world that others might strive to imitate. Innocence is a "virtue" of children which others might learn. By contrast, Augustine does not recognize children as morally innocent creatures; he finds sin in their behavior; in two senses there is "good" in childhood: 1) there we see ways *not* to be as adults; and 2) children's sins are less important in their consequences than adult sins. We can only realize the higher possibilities of our nature as we grow away from the suffering of childhood, even as we become guilty of greater sins.

It is true, as Riché has pointed out, that those Christian pedagogical principles like Augustine's which "saw the mark of original sin in all the child's acts" complemented the principles of the Romans.[69] Yet it is important to recognize that, while Augustine's principles "complemented" Roman educational practices, it was not because childhood

doesn't matter; rather, it was because the nature of childhood from which we need to escape is so important. Thus the "complementing" was for different reasons; what is more, it means that Augustine's recognition of childhood, no less than Clement's, was a departure from the prevailing attitude toward childhood in Greek and Roman culture.

Footnotes

[1] H.I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, tr. by George Lamb (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1956), p. 102.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 218.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 143.

[5] *Emile*, tr. Allan Bloom (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1979), p. 93.

[6] Stanley F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), p. 329.

[7] Pierre Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West, Sixth Through Eighth Centuries*, tr. by John J. Contreni (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1976), p. 10.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 10 n. 38.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

[14] Werner Jaeger, *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia* (New York: Oxford U. Press, 1961), pp. 46-47, 53-62.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 134 n. 33.

[16] *Laws*, X, 897b, as translated by Jaeger in *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia*, p. 133 n. 29.

[17] Clement's *Paedagogus*, tr. Simon P. Wood, as *Christ the Educator* (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1954), 1:5, 12.

[18] *Ibid.*, 1:5, 14.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] *Ibid.*, 1:5, 15.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] *Ibid.*, 1:5, 14.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] *Ibid.*, 1:5, 17.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] *Ibid.*, 1:5, 14.

[27] Matthew, 18:3, quoted in *ibid.*, 1:5, 12.

[28] *Ibid.*, 1:5, 13.

[29] Matthew, 19:14, quoted in *ibid.*, 1:5, 12.

[30] *Ibid.*, 1:5, 16.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] *Ibid.*, 1:5, 17.

[33] *Ibid.*, 1:5, 19.

[34] *Ibid.*, quoting Romans, 16:19.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] *Ibid.*, 1:5, 17.

[38] *Ibid.*, 1:5, 16.

[39] *Ibid.*, 1:6, 32.

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] *The City of God*, tr. Marcus Dods (New York: The Modern Library, 1950), II:7.

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] *Ibid.*

[44] *Ibid.*, XXII:22.

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] *Ibid.*

[47] *The Confessions*, tr. E.B. Pusey (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1907), I:XII, 19.

[48] *Ibid.*, I:VII, 11.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] *Ibid.*, I:IX, 14.

[51] *Ibid.*, I:XII, 19.

[52] *The City of God*, XXII:22.

[53] *The Confessions*, I:XVIII, 30.

[54] *Christ the Educator*, 1:5, 19.

[55] Matthew, 19:14, in Clement's *Christ the Educator*, 1:5, 12.

[56] *Christ the Educator*, 1:5, 14.

[57] *The Confessions*, I:XVIII, 30.

[58] Philip Schaff, ed., *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, Volume V: *Saint Augustine: Anti-Pelagian Writings* (New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1887), p. xv, in "Introductory Essay on Augustine and the Pelagian Controversy," by B.B. Warfield.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. xv n. 7.

[60] *Ibid.*, "On the Merits and Forgiveness of Sins, and On the Baptism of Infants," tr. Peter Holmes, I:66.

[61] *Ibid.*, I:67.

[62] *Ibid.*

[63] *Ibid.*, I:65.

[64] *Ibid.*

[65] *The Confessions*, I:XVIII, 31.

[66] *Ibid.*

[67] *Ibid.*

[68] *Ibid.*

[69] *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West*, p. 11.

Paradigms of Education: An Overview

Russell Marks

This paper provides an introduction to a larger study I am writing, *Paradigms of Education, 1778-1980*. As such, this paper is intended as an overview of my research rather than a final product. Conceptually borrowing from the sociology of knowledge, this proposed interdisciplinary study historically examines four paradigms and respective world views that have shaped educational policy and practice: the Enlightenment, Evolutionary, Progressive and Perennial (Transcendental) paradigms. The study explores how each of these paradigms and world views provide a conceptual and experiential filter for interpreting and understanding education and equity of treatment. The proposed work is designed to demonstrate the importance of studying educational policy and, specifically, questions of educational equity within the context of fundamental ideas about the nature of human beings, society, knowledge, nature and the supernatural.

To paraphrase Ralph Waldo Emerson, the basic assumption of this study is that education and equity of treatment at any given time are directly dependent on the system of intellectual classification, the educational paradigm and respective world view, existing in people's minds. The study argues that the crisis of education and equity of treatment is real but is foremost not a crisis of organization, institutions, curriculum or learning theory but a major conceptual crisis, a crisis of educational paradigms, a crisis of psychology and social science. It is further argued that dominant organizational models, institutions, curriculum, learning theory, and programs for educational equity mirror educational paradigms, particularly models of human nature, rather than the reverse. Historical study, which focuses on the history of ideas and allows a certain transcendence from the "tyranny of the present," makes this relationship clear and suggests the futility of educational studies which are not cognizant of the dominant conceptual system(s) involved. Such historical study reveals past and contemporary paradigms, reveals, for example, taken-for-granted assumptions about human nature that dramatically shape education.

At the same time, the study suggests that the "tyranny of the present" is largely a product of becoming an unknowing captive of the existing educational paradigm and world view. And the very nature of paradigms encourage taken-for-granted assumptions as they generate self-fulfilling prophecies, looking-glass research and policy, in which the results of research and policy mirror the assumptions and paradigm of the researcher and policy maker. Further, the likelihood of looking-glass research and policy increases as less emphasis is placed on the ideas and

conceptual system of the observer (researcher, policy maker) and the observed. Much current research, reflecting Evolutionary and Progressive paradigms, accentuates this problem as it focuses on the experimental study of behavior over the study of thought, specialized research over general research, processes over ideas, organizational models over the sociology of knowledge, institutional history over the history of ideas, knowledge use over knowledge, practice over theory, and which makes ideas and conceptual systems a product of material events rather than a creator and dialectical partner.

Operating from this general perspective, the basic theme of the study is that the two dominant 20th century educational paradigms, i.e., the Evolutionary and the Progressive, are taken-for-granted, that the implication of each for education and equity of treatment are poorly understood, and that the models do not account for basic features of human nature, particularly the role of human consciousness in shaping intelligence. These two paradigms have locked researchers and policy makers into nature-nurture formulations of intelligence which have generated enormous amounts of research and influential educational reforms but whose basic assumption is rarely challenged — that heredity and environment can sufficiently describe the nature of intelligence. From these two respective paradigms, intelligence is simply a product of heredity acting independently with a biological environment (Evolutionary paradigm), or of heredity interacting with a cultural environment (Progressive paradigm). At the same time, the plausibility systems of Evolutionary and Progressive theorists rule out the contributions of Enlightenment and Perennial theorists who provide important insights about human nature, intelligence and consciousness. In examining these issues, the study first explores the nature of world views and educational paradigms and then investigates the Enlightenment, Evolutionary, Progressive and Perennial paradigms.

Very briefly, the study argues that educational paradigms dialectically interract with world views, that paradigms are products and creators of world views. The general intent of this educational paradigm/world view framework is to provide a useful method for examining educational policy and practice. More specifically, it is designed to provide a meaningful, interdisciplinary method for doing educational history, a method that integrates the ideas of many educators into a common conceptual system, that distinguishes between intraparadigm and interparadigm educational disputes, and that guards against the dangers of presentism and ideological history by identifying the operating paradigm, and not simply isolated ideas, of the historical educator.

The Enlightenment Paradigm: Education for Human Perfection

Formulated in the 18th and early 19th century, the Enlightenment

educational paradigm and world view was an exciting new synthesis of Western science, philosophy and religion. Playing a prominent role in formulating the new conceptual system in America were Thomas Jefferson and Horace Mann. Together they provided a sacred-scientific educational paradigm built in part on the following basic ideas: God, nature, morality, truth, intelligence, soul, natural law, human improveability/perfectability, republic, progress, church and state.

The Enlightenment paradigm revolved around the ideas of intelligence and morality. Human beings were born blank ignorant; intelligence was essentially a product of problem solving. Intelligence, like morality, reflected human nature, a human nature rooted in natural and divine laws of Morality and Intelligence which were knowable through moral and intellectual education. Hence the Enlightenment paradigm emphasized the central importance of the common school, of common moral and intellectual education. While economic resources might limit a person's education, there were for Mann no insurmountable genetic and/or environmental limitations preventing moral and intellectual development. The spark of genius was present in every child, the "idiot" and normal child could engage in problem solving at their level of development. Horace Mann provides the essence of the Enlightenment idea of scientific, reflective intelligence when he describes intelligence as the grand condition for creating wealth:

> If a savage will learn how to swim, he can fasten a dozen pounds' weight to his back, and transport it across a narrow river. . . . If he will invent an axe . . . to cut down a tree, he can use the tree for a float, and one of its limbs for a paddle, and can thus transport many times the former weight, many times the former distance. Hollowing out his log, he will increase, what may be called, its tonnage. . . . Fastening several trees together, he makes a raft, and thus increases the buoyant power of his embryo water-craft. . . . Improving upon hull below and rigging above, he makes a proud merchantmen. . . . (Next) he frames iron arms for his ship; and for oars, affixes iron wheels. . . . Into iron-walled cavities in her bosom, he puts iron organs of massive structure and strength, and of cohesion insoluble by fire. Within these, he kindles a small volcano; and then, like a sentient and rational existence, this wonderful creation of his hands cleaves oceans, breasts tides, defies tempests, and bears its living and jubilant freight around the globe. Now, take away intelligence from the ship builder, and the steamship, — that miracle of human art, — falls back into a floating log; the log itself is lost; and the savage swimmer, bearing his dozen pounds on his back, alone, remains.[1]

And it was this Enlightenment formulation of intelligence that provides the foundation and rationale for American public schooling, a formula-

tion which ironically is no longer widely believed by most educators and academics, a formulation which has been significantly negated by the Evolutionary and Progressive paradigms. And while existing elementary and secondary schools are largely structured on the Evolutionary and Progressive paradigms, the Enlightenment formulation continues to shape American educational ideals, continues to shape American aspirations for educational equity.

Countering this Enlightenment idealism are Evolutionary and Progressive theorists who warn that education is an "imperfect panacea." Such criticism captures a central problem with the Enlightenment paradigm: while moral and intellectual growth may be unlimited, the Enlightenment model of moral and intellectual education works much more slowly than Mann envisioned. For Enlightenment theorists, the laws of human nature were identical to the laws of nature. The problem was to create an educational and political system built on those natural laws. Thus in searching for principles for the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson did not go to other theorists but found them written in his heart and reason. Such knowledge of the heart and intellect, however, required careful cultivation and education. The key was knowledge of the outer world, knowledge of Divine nature and its natural laws, which was identical to the inner world and would lead the student to knowledge of human nature, to the laws of the heart and mind. This educational process, however, worked at best slowly; an enormous amount of knowledge of the outer world was required to purify the inner moral and intellectual sensibilities. And this educational process became even more problematic when the Enlightenment world view upon which it was based was no longer viewed as plausible, when people no longer believed that natural laws govern human life, that moral and intellectual education can put man in harmony with Nature and the Divine Order.

At the same time, the Enlightenment paradigm strongly influenced elementary and secondary education in the 19th and early 20th century. The Enlightenment model came to be inextricably identified with a variety of educational ideas and practices which included faculty psychology, transfer of training, Lockean psychology, common school, common curriculum, heterogeneous grouping, equal education, classical studies and an absence of electives in secondary schools. Building largely on the Enlightenment conception of intelligence, Mann formulated a model of educational equity. For Mann, educational equity did not mean education commensurate with biological, individual differences (Evolutionary) or bio-cultural, individual differences (Progressive), but equal education, the same curriculum in heterogeneous classrooms for all children. Children would progress at different rates but all were capable of learning, all needed to know the same natural laws, all needed to develop their moral, intellectual and physical faculties. Failure to learn was primarily attributed to the student's maturation level or to the teacher's incompetence rather than to genetic and/or environmental con-

ditions.

Not surprisingly, when the Evolutionary paradigm emerged, one of the first ideas Evolutionary theorists criticized was the Enlightenment idea of intelligence, the key to the educational paradigm. Soon thereafter, in very systematic fashion, theoretical and empirical studies were conducted by Evolutionary theorists which challenged Enlightenment educational ideas and practices; e.g., the value of classical studies, the transfer of training from such studies, the value of heterogeneous classes, the policy of equal education. In the process, such studies indirectly challenged the credibility of the Enlightenment world view. Yet in retrospect, when these Evolutionary studies are examined, it is clear that the new paradigm was much more successful in undermining the plausibility of the Enlightenment paradigm and world view than it was in successfully refuting it. Further, these studies are only plausible if one accepts the basic assumptions of the new Evolutionary paradigm.

The Evolutionary Paradigm: Education for Adjustment

Unlike the Enlightenment world view, the Evolutionary perspective did not provide a new synthesis of Western science, philosophy and religion. Rather, the Evolutionary perspective provided a new formulation of science which was designed in part to eliminate the need for philosophy and religion. The new evolutionary science, which in education was based on psychology, provided a new plausibility structure which provided psychological and biological answers to questions once answered by philosophy and theology. In the process, psychologists, as Clarence Karier notes, became the new definers of human nature. Edward L. Thorndike emerged as the dominant theorist of the new educational paradigm. Indeed Thorndike, as Lawrence Cremin notes, was probably the most influential American educator in the first half of the 20th century. And the paradigm Thorndike helped to create is very alive and well. Many of the dominant ideas of the Evolutionary paradigm, as formulated by Thorndike and others, are as fundamental to educational psychology classes today as they were to Thorndike's classes at Teacher's College years ago. The Evolutionary paradigm of Thorndike was built in part on the following basic ideas: individual differences, habits, behavior, experimental study, mental measurements, character, I.Q., heredity, environment, stimulus (situation), response, conditioning, connections, learning theory, animal learning, human engineering, eugenics and a "meritocracy."

Evolutionary theorists like Thorndike thought that Enlightenment theorists badly overestimated the role that education could play in changing individuals and the social order. People did not have vast untapped moral and intellectual resources as the Enlightenment formulation indicated. Rather humans were simply evolved animals, animals that were

qualitatively different in intelligence than lower animals but nevertheless differed from lower animals primarily in terms of the quantity of neural connections they were capable of making. Human intelligence for Evolutionary theorists was a product of heredity and the environment. Heredity set sharp limits to human malleability and acted independently from the environment. The environment was defined by evolutionary and biological metaphors, e.g., man's relation to society was organic, man was a higher animal which like other animals must learn to adjust to their environment. Man learned like lower animals, through forming connections through stimulus and response conditions. Men's ability to form these connections, however, was dramatically limited by their genetic makeup. Environmental malleability was sharply limited by genetic unmalleability.

In focusing on genetic unmalleability and a biologically defined environment, Evolutionary theorists fundamentally located the source of individual and social problems in biological limitations, particularly in genetic limitations, in "stupidity" rather than "ignorance." The Evolutionary crusade against "stupidity" would replace the Enlightenment crusade against "ignorance." The reform emphasis shifted from using schools for combatting ignorance to using schools for adjusting people to their genetic and environmental limitations, to providing for individual, biological differences. I.Q. tests particularly tapped the individual's genetic makeup, achievement tests also measured the role of the environment. Together they provided an excellent indicator of the individual's biological intelligence which was largely genetic and unmalleable. (See Chart B for the Evolutionary Idea of Intelligence.)

By the Evolutionary formulation, the socioeconomic order was essentially a product of the biological order. The educational system needed to build its principles and practices around the biological nature of the individual. And with amazing speed, the Evolutionary model came to dominate early 20th century education. Evolutionary educational engineering swept into the schools. Its practices are still very evident today, although a Progressive rather than Evolutionary rationale is often now given for these educational innovations. These Evolutionary educational reforms included ability grouping, differentiated curriculum, programs providing for individual differences, I.Q. and achievement testing, gifted and special programs, educational guidance, vocational education, behavioral objectives, behavioral conditioning, and behavioral modification programs. And more than any of the other three paradigms examined, the Evolutionary paradigm had built into its formulation of human nature and educational reform a remarkable ability to generate self-fulfilling prophecies and self-fulfilling research. For the Evolutionary paradigm labeled certain people biologically inferior, gave them educational programs that were designed for their inferior nature, and then showed that they performed less well than superior persons receiving superior education.

Such theory and practice had significant implications for educational equity. Like the above mentioned educational reforms, the Evolutionary idea of equity, i.e., equality of educational opportunity, was largely built on the Evolutionary idea of intelligence. Furthermore, the idea of intelligence and equality of educational opportunity fit within the Evolutionary "meritocratic" conception of school and society. The Evolutionary meritocracy was based on four basic ideas: (1) unmalleable, biological differences, (2) equality of educational opportunity, (3) Merit = Biological Ability and Effort, (4) and meritorious leadership and expertise. The Evolutionary formulation of educational equity directly challenged the Enlightenment formulation as it shifted the emphasis from democratic equality to meritocratic equality of opportunity, shifted the emphasis from equal education to equality of educational opportunity. Within the Evolutionary paradigm, equality of educational opportunity provided a rationale for unequal rather than equal treatment of individuals. Equality of educational opportunity meant that opportunities were first defined by one's biological makeup and then one was given an equal opportunity to succeed in areas compatible with one's nature. Equal opportunity entailed an equal chance to attend college only if one was by nature college material. If one was not by nature college material, then failure to provide secondary training that was necessary for attending college was not a denial of equality of educational opportunity.

The Progressive Paradigm: Education for Community

Selectively borrowing from the Enlightenment and Evolutionary world views, the Progressive world view offered a new systhesis of Western science, philosophy and religion. Providing an exciting educational synthesis of this new world view was America's foremost Progressive educator, John Dewey. The Progressive educational paradigm of Dewey was in part based on the following ideas: social intelligence, community, culture, experience, reflective thinking, progress, scientific method, growth, social environment, pragmatism, human malleability/improveability, and the reconstruction of democracy.

Unlike the Evolutionary paradigm and its biological nature-nurture formulation of intelligence, the Progressive paradigm provided a nature-nurture formulation of intelligence based on an interaction between biology and culture. For Dewey, biology and culture were interdependent allowing for human malleability and improveability but not perfectability. There were both genetic and cultural limits to intelligence, although few, if any people, had reached its limits, their potential. In formulating this idea of intelligence, Dewey, like Enlightenment theorists, held that intelligence was essentially a product of an active learner engaged in problem solving, in reflective thinking. Hence the Progressive paradigm suffered from the same problem as the Enlightenment paradigm: given their formulations of intelligence and their almost

exclusive reliance on gaining knowledge through reflective thinking and the scientific method, intellectual improvement was at best a very slow and difficult process.

At the same time, Dewey was influenced by the Evolutionary idea of genetic limits. Thus Dewey's Progressive idea of intelligence somewhat resembled both the Enlightenment and Evolutionary formulation. (See Chart C.) Reflective thinking, problem solving allowed the individual to progress along the Cultural-Evolutionary scale in a manner similar to Mann's formulation. However, the social environment interacting with the individual's biology set limits to how far the individual could progress along that scale. And the educational reforms promoted by Progressives were in many instances very similar to those of Evolutionary theorists, although the rationale for the reform had changed from a biological to a cultural-biological rationale. A cultural-biological rationale worked equally as well as a biological one for advocating ability grouping, a differentiated curriculum, provisions for individual differences, mainstreaming, vocational education and educational guidance programs based on Progressive rather than Evolutionary assumptions.

Within the Progressive model, educational equity meant equality of educational opportunity as defined by a nature-nurture model of intelligence. Unlike the Evolutionary paradigm, the Progressive paradigm defined equality of educational opportunity not only in relationship to the individual's biology but also to his/her social environment. The individual was given an equal opportunity to succeed in areas compatible with his/her social environment and genetic makeup. Equal opportunity meant an equal chance to attend college only if college would help the individual to function in society, only if college would benefit the community, and only if the individual had the necessary ability to succeed in college. There was, however, much more flexibility in determining ability than the Evolutionary model provided, since biology and culture for Progressives were both somewhat malleable and were interdependent.

Additionally, the study seeks to contrast the Progressive cultural formulation of the environment with the Evolutionary biological (stimulus-response) formulation of the environment (a distinction vital to discussions of educational equity). To illustrate, Evolutionary theorist B.F. Skinner arranges a controlled environment, complete with tokens for correct responses, teachers with expertise in extinction and positive reinforcement, etc. Slum children are brought into this controlled environment and learn not to hit other children, learn to obey certain rules, etc. Skinner's explanation of their new behavior is that through manipulating the environment he has controlled the children's behavior. An alternative, essentially Progressive explanation, would be that the controlled environment, unlike the slums, facilitated certain kinds of problem solving. Problem solving, however, by this formulation is not simply

a result of a controlled environment, but of the child's intelligence, i.e., reflective thinking, the scientific method, being brought to bear on the environment. By this formulation, intelligence is something more than one's genetic makeup and history of reinforcement, intelligence involves a social being who recognizes problems and acts on his/her environment. Within this formulation, the individual's cultural experience, which is more than a product of biology, is fundamental to the development of intelligence. The critical point, however, is that the Progressive cultural conception of the environment is significantly different than the Evolutionary biological conception of the environment and has some very different implications for educational thought and practice.

The Perennial Paradigm: Education for Enlightenment

For over 2,000 years, the Perennial paradigm and world view (see Aldous Huxley, *The Perennial Philosophy*) has provided a rich synthesis of Eastern philosophy and Western science, a synthesis of an Eastern science of Being with a Western science of Nature. While Eastern scholars have traditionally deprecated knowledge of the outer, material, relative world of Nature, Western scholars have traditionally deprecated knowledge of the inner, ideal, absolute world of Being. Perennial thinkers on the contrary have sought to show the existence of both worlds, the continuity and harmony between these two worlds, and the necessity of understanding both for expanding knowledge. This section focuses on the thought of Ralph Waldo Emerson, a 19th century poet, philosopher and New England Transcendentalist, and on the thought of a late 20th century Perennial theorist (presently undetermined). Unlike the other paradigms examined, the Perennial has not dominated American educational policy and practice. It provides, however, a significant alternative educational paradigm and world view, and a significant alternative formulation of intelligence and educational equity. At the same time, the contrast in perspectives it offers is helpful in pinpointing the assumptions of the previously examined paradigms. Finally the Perennial paradigm is so sweeping that it allows for a new synthesis that incorporates basic features of the other three paradigms.

The Perennial paradigm and world view was built in part on the following basic ideas: soul, mind, heart, intellect, being, consciousness, science, reason, nature, meditation, thought, laws of nature, God, the relative and the absolute. For both Enlightenment and Perennial theorists, there was a perfect correspondence between the laws of the natural world and the laws of the mind. Also like Enlightenment theorists (and to a lesser extent, Progressives), Perennial theorists viewed ignorance as the primary source of human suffering; e.g., crime, war, disease, alcohol and drug addiction. Unlike Enlightenment and Progressive theorists, Perennial theorists did not believe that knowledge of Nature, human behavior and the external world would solve or dramatically relieve the

problem of human suffering. Instead, Perennial theorists maintained that knowledge of Being and consciousness was the key to understanding Nature and human behavior, to alleviating human suffering. Knowledge of Being expanded consciousness and in the process enlivened the range of reflective thought, enlivened the ability to live a full moral, social, intellectual, spiritual, emotional and physical life. (See Chart D for the Perennial idea of Intelligence.)

Within the Perennial model, human beings were not equal in problem solving intelligence or in consciousness, but had equal access to Being and higher consciousness. In Emerson's words, there is an "equality of souls," all people are "eternally equal" and have equal access to the Universal Mind. An expansion of consciousness is critical to developing problem solving intelligence as knowledge is always structured in consciousness. Altering the curriculum, learning environment, etc., will have very little impact on educational equity and student performance unless the student's level of consciousness is enlivened, unless the student's container of knowledge is expanded. The knower as well as the object of knowing are equally important in advancing knowledge. The best way to enhance equality is then to provide measures that "cultivate moral and intellectual sensibilities" rather than simply promoting problem-solving intelligence. Only the former have the capacity for lifting the individual to a higher level of consciousness in which knowledge can be discerned, reordered and understood in a much more comprehensive manner. For Perennial theorists, educational equity therefore means equal education, particularly equal access to measures cultivating intellectual sensibilities.

In cultivating intellectual sensibilities, Perennial theorists have particularly relied on various forms of meditation. Meditation complements reflective thinking, meditation is the Eastern world's contribution to a science of Being; reflective thinking, the scientific method, is the Western world's contribution to a science of Nature. The scientific method provides a technique for discerning natural laws and utilizing Nature; meditation provides a technique for discerning Being, for transforming human physiology, for altering Nature, which is fluid rather than fixed. In experiencing Being, in experiencing pure consciousness through meditation, the individual's physiology is gradually transformed (e.g., brain wave coherence as measured by EEG machines increases).[2] and with these changes the individual is better able to discern and intuitively know the eternal principles of truth, justice and beauty, to know the laws written in the human heart and reason.

While 19th century Perennial theorists sought a synthesis of Newtonian science and Eastern philosophy, modern Perennial theorists seek a synthesis of post-Einstein physics and Vedic philosophy. And, not surprisingly, physicists today are generally much more sympathetic to the Perennial paradigm than social scientists and educators who are locked

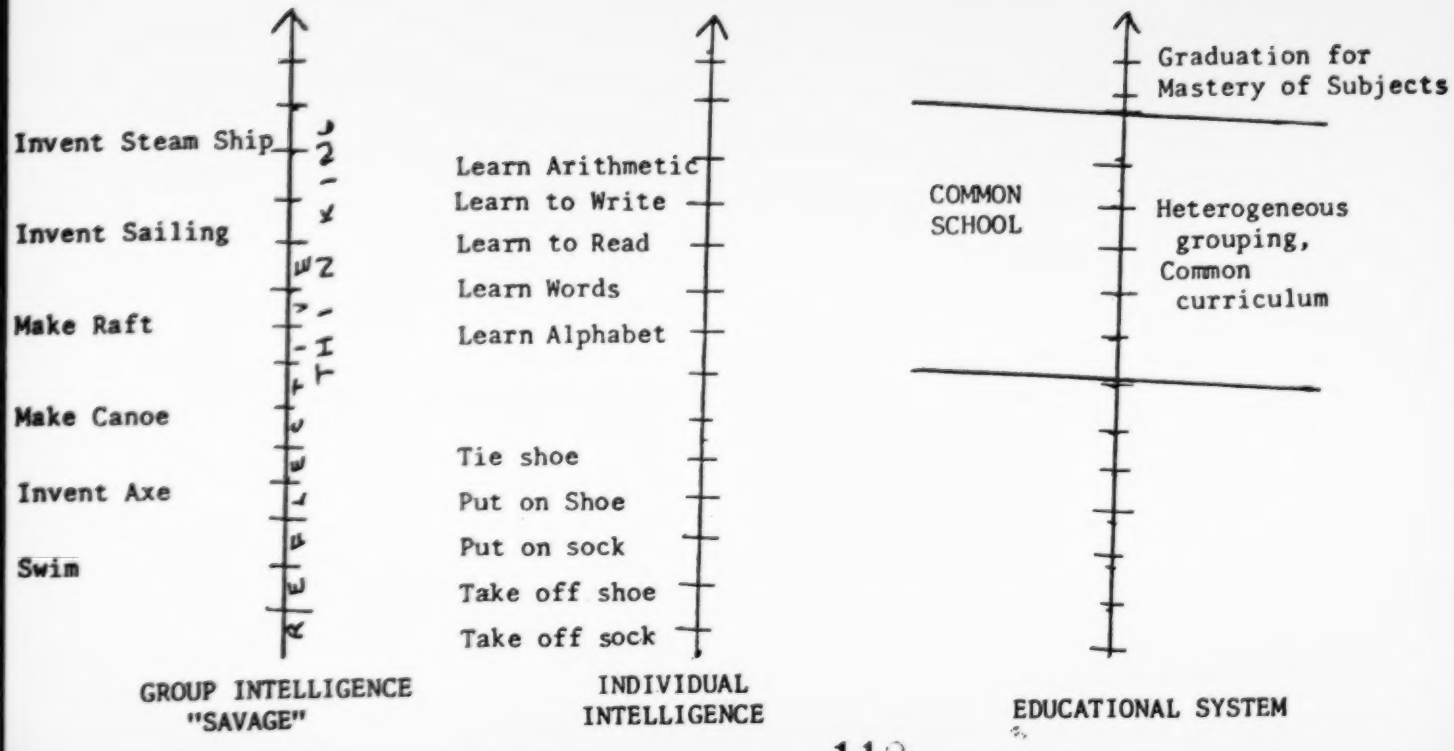
into Evolutionary and Progressive conceptual systems. Modern Perennial theorists think they are now in a position to end the division between the scientific and humanistic cultures, to establish a new synthesis of science, religion and philosophy, to show the existence, harmony and looking-glass relationship between the laws of nature and the laws of the human mind. The dream of Enlightenment for Perennial theorists is now more attainable than ever. The Imperfect Panacea is the disillusionment of the 20th century, the product in part of misleading paradigms. Ignorance remains the source of human suffering. Knowledge can indeed conquer ignorance. But that knowledge must be complete. For Perennial theorists it must be knowledge of Being as well as knowledge of Nature, knowledge of the knower as well as knowledge of the known, knowledge of both the absolute and relative dimensions of life. Such knowledge, for modern Perennial theorists, can indeed lead to an Age of Enlightenment.

Notes

[1] Horace Mann, *The Life and Works of Horace Mann* (Boston: Lee and Shepard Publ., 1891), Vol. 4, p. 38.

[2] See e.g., David W. Orme-Johnson and John T. Farrow, *Scientific Research on the Transcendental Meditation Program: Collected Papers* (West Germany: MERU Press, 1976), Vol I.

A. ENLIGHTENMENT IDEA OF INTELLIGENCE

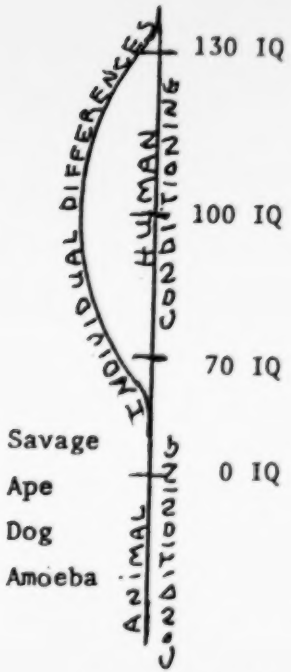


GROUP INTELLIGENCE "SAVAGE"

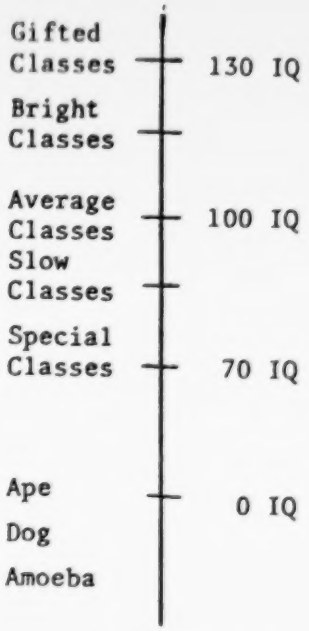
INDIVIDUAL INTELLIGENCE

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

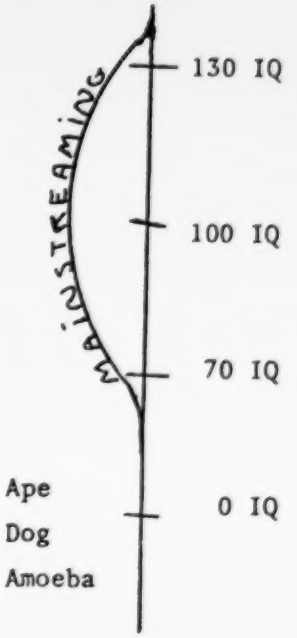
B. EVOLUTIONARY IDEA OF INTELLIGENCE



EVOLUTIONARY SCALE

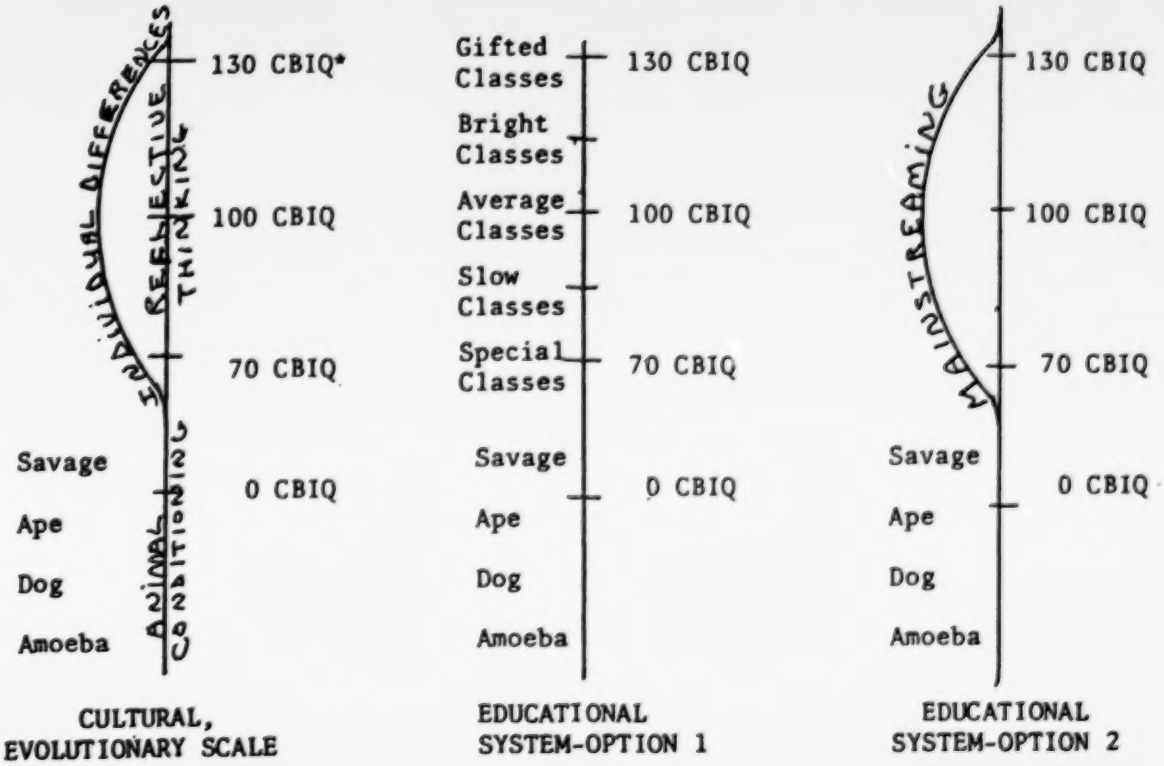


EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM - OPTION 1



EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM - OPTION 2

C. PROGRESSIVE IDEA OF INTELLIGENCE



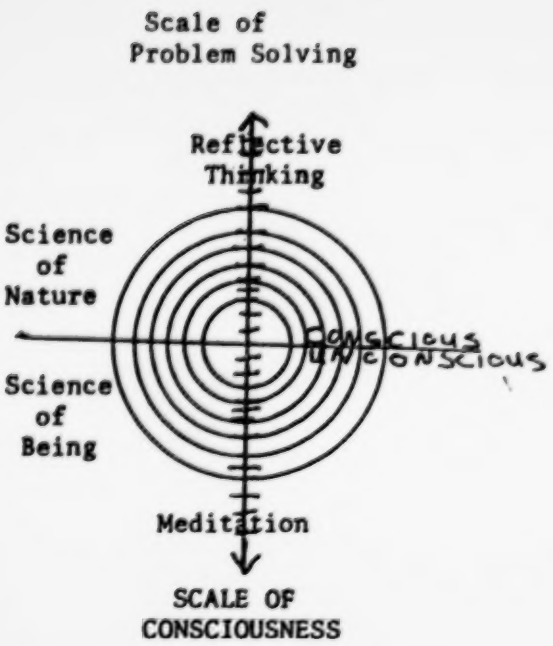
CULTURAL, EVOLUTIONARY SCALE

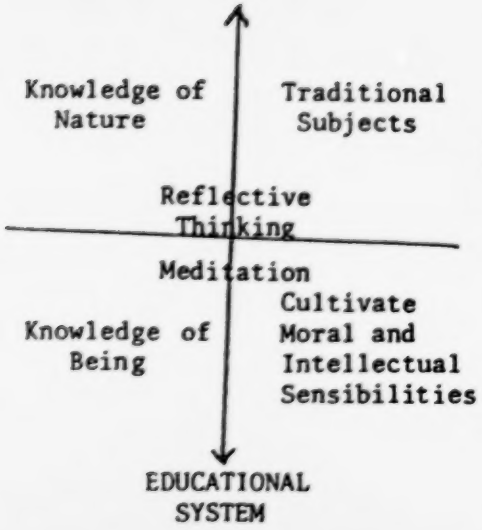
EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM-OPTION 1

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM-OPTION 2

CBIQ = Cultural and Biological Intelligence Quotient

D. PERENNIAL IDEA OF INTELLIGENCE





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PART IV

Schooling in the Urban Heartland

The Irony of Twentieth-Century Educational Policy and Juvenile Delinquency in Chicago, 1890-1972

Michael W. Sedlak
Northwestern University

The educational response to adolescent deviance and delinquency in the 20th century is replete with irony. I would like to talk today about several of the most glaring and distressing examples, drawing upon work that I have been doing on the evolution of educational policy and practice in Chicago since 1890.

It should be mentioned at the outset that there have been significant differences between the experiences of boys and girls. Toward the end of my presentation I will attempt to clarify the nature of the impact that distinctions have had on the two groups, even though many of the fundamental issues are similar, and the consequences of altogether differing policies have been directly parallel.

Like many larger urban centers confronted by substantial increases in enrollment during the late 19th century, Chicago's public school leaders began to enforce educational policies designed to separate maladjusted and mischievious children from their better disciplined peers on the basis of strikingly crude definitions of deviance and adjustment. Initially problem children were isolated within the classroom. Within a few years, the nature and scope of the "problem child problem" had become sufficiently visible to justify the organization of distinct "ungraded" classrooms for maladjusted students, similar to those which had been established in Cleveland and New York during the 1870s and 1880s. Prior to the turn of the century in Chicago, the administration directed little effort toward children outside of the public school system, except for the placement of a teacher at the Bridewell, the city's prison in which young offenders were incarcerated.

By the late 1890s many influential citizens were convinced that Chicago had outgrown its rather unsystematic approach to the presence of an increasingly large population of "abnormal," "subnormal," "maladjusted," and "defective" children. They pressed public authorities for a comprehensive response. Over the next decade a combination of programs and institutions were either established or modified to serve these various groups of children. Some components of this effort are familiar, such as the establishment of the nation's first distinct juvenile court in 1899. Several other significant projects were initiated, however, most of which were organized within the public school system. Accompanying the legislation that provided for the juvenile court was another law that

enabled Chicago to establish a "Parental School," a massive, closed, residential institution for habitual truants and incorrigible students that emphasized vocational training and the practical arts. Both the famous "Harper Report" of 1898 and the city council had endorsed the concept. Opened in 1902, the Parental School admitted children referred through the system's central office and others unofficially processed by the juvenile court who were thought to be relatively harmless, principally in need of a highly structured, even military, environment. Judges in Cook County were not particularly enthusiastic about sending children brought before them on petitions of incorrigibility, truancy, and other nusiance behaviors to the state reformatories in St. Charles and Geneva. They welcomed the opportunity to direct these children instead to more moderate institutions, such as the Parental School, or to private agencies in the area, such as the residential homes and shelters for delinquent and pregnant adolescents which were eventually provided both academic and practical arts teachers by the Board of Education.

The juvenile justice and educational systems required some sort of program to examine and evaluate defective and disturbed children in order to determine the most appropriate placement, either in one of the special schools or in an available private institution. Shortly after the court and Parental School were organized, consequently, the Board of Education established a Bureau of Child Study, one of the nation's first educational research centers charged with the mission of testing and studying children referred by the court or by a teacher for possible placement in one of the city's special programs for troubled youth. The Bureau also attempted to determine whether any non-delinquent children lacked the intellectual ability to profit from the system's academic programs. In late 1906 the Bureau's psychologists recommended that "mentally defective" students should be formally excluded from the public schools; for economic reasons the Board quickly ratified the motion.

Indeed, the continual financial burden of serving the various categories of abnormal, ungraded, incorrigible, and truant children led the Board to lobby on behalf of state legislation to compensate Chicago for operating these programs, which commonly cost from three to ten times as much per student as did regular classroom instruction. They succeeded, for in 1911 the legislature agreed to reimburse Chicago for the difference between per capita expenditures on normal students and the excessive costs of serving children undergoing treatment in one of the special facilities, some of which, like the Parental School, had expanded to include delinquents and truants from the city's parochial school system. With this success behind them, the Board demanded to be reimbursed for the extra expenses incurred in serving a number of additional groups of special students: crippled, anaemic, incipient invalid, epileptic, and subnormal children, many of whom had attended the public schools for a decade at enormous cost to the system and to the women's clubs and local foundations that helped provide labor, materials, and facilities for handi-

capped children.

The prevailing pattern of care in Chicago was intensified after Superintendent Ella Flagg Young visited European educational crime prevention programs in 1914. She found an emphasis upon frequent examinations, both mental and physical, to identify and isolate problems of progress and abnormality in their embryonic stage. At their first sign of maladjustment, defective children were segregated from their peers. Based upon Young's report, Chicago increased its efforts to identify deviance in the city's children and to transfer troubled students to special institutions. The schools were encouraged to cooperate further with the juvenile court, the county's probation department, and the Institute for Juvenile Research, a diagnostic clinic founded by William Healy in 1909 and transferred to the state shortly before World War I.

By 1918 the comprehensive educational response to adolescent deviance was complete and would change very little over the next five decades, except that it became larger in size. By then the system's *Annual Reports* included extensive sections on the schools' policies toward deviants. Additional rooms for truants were established in elementary and high schools in poorer neighborhoods. Further efforts to control the system's "over-age" population were introduced. Overcrowding at the Parental School forced the organization of other special closed, but non-residential, institutions for problem children, including Montifiore in 1929, and Moseley shortly thereafter.

By 1930 the system had become so committed to these elaborate and expensive separate programs that even the financial turmoil occasioned by the Depression had little impact on their existence. When in 1933 Chicago's extensive social service program was "disemboweled," as one journalist charged, the facilities for problem children were preserved rather successfully, despite an effort to close the Parental School. Indeed, the Depression aggravated delinquency rates and contributed to a movement to further expand the special prevention and remediation services.

The professionalization of several fields of educational service fueled the movement to differentiate among various classes of special students and to place them in distinct segregated programs. Individuals trained in education, social work, psychology, and eventually in special education, pressed for even finer distinctions among children with emotional disorders, physical disabilities, and maladjustment problems rooted in poverty and environmental or familial deprivation. They encouraged the development of diagnostic machinery with which to distinguish among subtle individual differences, and advocated the maintenance of separate facilities in which to deliver their services.

They were joined by influential authorities associated with the juvenile justice system. In Chicago, court investigators like Willard E. Hotchkiss, judges like Julian W. Mack, and critics like Thomas D. Eliot, enthusi-

astically endorsed the struggling effort of educational personnel to assume responsibility for the prevention and treatment of delinquency. Eliot, a Northwestern sociologist prominent in the probation movement, even recommended that all post-disposition treatment be transferred intact from the courts to the public schools. His argument was based, intriguingly, on the presumption that any contact with the justice system, especially on the part of children who had committed no real crime, would inevitably brand transgressors as misfits and outcasts, labels which would drive them away from their conventionally behaving peers. To eliminate the pernicious effects of court labeling, Eliot advocated their removal to special public school programs, such as parental institutions, truant rooms, and diagnostic clinics.

As adolescent delinquency problems worsened after World War II with the emergence of increasingly aggressive and violent gangs comprised of minority youth, many of whom apparently were serious drug abusers, schools turned to external funding agencies for support. Initially the state legislature provided additional revenues for special delinquency projects; in Illinois they offered local districts funds for employing corps of special maladjustment counselors. Within a decade and a half the federal government, through various pieces of anti-poverty, mental health, and law enforcement legislation, sharply increased the funds available for the special programs and staff members. The public schools, consequently, used their access to such external financial assistance to perpetuate and intensify their traditional pattern of isolating children with behavioral problems.

Because such a large proportion of the funds supporting the separate programs was provided by the state and federal governments, children in effect became more valuable to local districts if they continued to be segregated. Local tax revenues could be used to support the basic academic programs for relatively fewer "normal" students. Administrators, consequently, had a significant economic interest in joining the social service professionals in pressing for further isolation of troubled youth.

As the federalization of the problem child problem became widespread, a countermovement of critics called attention to the contribution of prevailing educational solutions to the worsening delinquency problem. Ironically, in their effort to reduce delinquency, schools actually encouraged and fostered criminal behavior. The organization of schools, especially their approach to troubled youth, contributed to adolescent alienation and deviance. These scholars maintained that schools which responded to the first indication or early expression of maladjustment by labeling students and excluding them from the sort of activities that ordinarily bred commitment to conventional and legitimate social norms, dramatically reduced the possibility of successfully reintegrating such students into more acceptable and positive adolescent roles. Children who were segregated or excluded would inevitably find sanctuary and

comfort among others who would reward them for continued violations of social norms. The traditional approach to delinquency prevention and remediation through the schools (that of developing elaborate diagnostic machinery with which to identify potential behavioral problems and allocating children so identified among various humiliating special programs, or in some way labeling them as backward or mean or immoral) denies problem children the opportunity to succeed in the presence of children who behave according to conventional standards. Existing solutions exacerbated the problems they were designed to solve.

The irony of the treatment of deviant young women by the public schools is equally disturbing. Differences in the understanding and treatment of young men and young women have evolved from the following assumption. Whereas male deviance and delinquency has been thought of as relatively normal, ordinarily a form of transient behavior characteristic of a developmental phase which the vast majority of boys will go through and grow out of, with few long-term serious consequences for either the child or the community, female delinquency, because of its sexual nature, has been thought of as debilitating, demoralizing, and degrading not only to the young women involved but to their peers as well (through contagion) and ultimately of permanent consequence to society. Two observers of rehabilitation programs for young men and women perceptively captured the impact of the public's understanding (or lack of understanding) of the experience of the two groups. As the Chicago public schools' Committee on Corrective Institutions once commented,

> Boys "sow their wild oats" until they are sick of them and then they are forgiven by society, including the churches, and become laudable citizens. *But* along their paths may be the wrecks of girls of whom society, including the churches, never forgives, lives hopelessly blasted, never even permitted in respectable homes, much less [thought] capable of making them.

One analyst of the causes and nature of female delinquency insightfully argued that "a boy may be grossly immoral and his immorality does not always find him out and follow him; it is not so easy for the girl who has been immoral to be helped back to a normal place in society." As a result of the public's impression of deviance and immorality, school administrators and other authorities have customarily refused to organize programs for young wayward women, determined instead to exclude them from educational systems entirely, at least until the 1960s.

Since it was assumed that their transgressions were in one way or another sexual, virtually without exception educational authorities demanded that troubled young women be prevented from associating either with regular students or, by and large, even with other "abnormal" children. Although Chicago did admit several girls to its Parental School, and eventually established a separate facility for mildly delinquent young

women, the Motley School, in 1958, the Board of Education decisively refused to offer any services to pregnant adolescents on campus. As noted earlier, the Board did assign several teachers to the exclusively white maternity homes and shelters for pregnant and disturbed young women, and agreed to provide home-bound tutoring for one hour per week per student. They felt under no obligation, however, to maintain any coherent curriculum for these students.

During the 1960s, with the entrance of the federal government into the provision of care for pregnant adolescents, many urban districts, including Chicago, established what have come to be known as community-based, comprehensive care centers, family living centers, or schools for girls with special needs, depending upon the preferred local euphemism. Most of these projects brought together a variety of health, education, welfare, and training services at one location, usually under the jurisdiction of the local board of education, with funding from either the federal government or assistance from the state.

These programs isolated young women together in special institutions for their own good, the argument went, in order to protect them from the "stairs and stares:" facilities that were designed to accommodate their physical condition which also allowed them to continue their education in the dignified companionship of other students who would not torment them because of their circumstance.

While many cities were spending outside funds for these elaborate centers, a number of young women began to win the right to remain in regular classrooms. Title IX of the 1972 Educational Amendments codified the state court decisions granting pregnant adolescents the opportunity to be "mainstreamed." Parents and their daughters increasingly recognized the extreme disadvantages inherent in continuing schooling in the special centers, the consequent lack of opportunity and ultimate inability to achieve any sort of economic or social independence, and continued to press for admission to regular classrooms.

Despite the court decisions, the Title IX requirements, and the effort of families, very few public school systems have agreed to admit pregnant adolescents into their regular classrooms. Community pressures and economic interest have forced the young women into the isolated special facilities, if they were to be provided any educational opportunities at all. Indeed, the availability of federal funds to establish and support the family living centers relatively painlessly, has made it easy for most communities to avoid the federal mandate to bring pregnant adolescents into their basic academic programs. Ironically, therefore, several federal agencies have subsidized the effort of many school administrators to evade the courts' mandate.

Recently David K. Cohen and Barbara Neufeld called attention to the way in which irritating and demoralizing current paradoxes are often the

consequence of successful past problem-solving efforts. "Reform is always shaped, and often crippled," they argued, "by the fruits of past problem-solving." The evolution of delinquency prevention and remediation policy in the schools — the successful installation of diagnostic, labeling, and allocation mechanisms — has apparently born fruit that we now must confront.

PART V

Program and Proceedings

Midwest History of Education Society
1981 Annual Meeting

Hosted by Loyola University,
Lewis Towers Campus, Chicago

October 30-31, 1981

Friday, October 30

Noon - 1 p.m. Registration, Regis Room 30
Kay Smith, Loyola University

1 - 3:30 First Session - Quantitative Analysis and Educational History
David L. Angus, University of Michigan, Chairperson

"The Social and Econome Correlates of School Attendance Among the Children of Textile Workers, 1890"

David L. Angus, Barbara Hilbert and Jeffrey E. Mirel, University of Michigan

"School Entry Decisions of the Families of Textile Workers, 1890"

David L. Angus and Barbara A. Hilbert, University of Michigan

"School Leaving by the Children of Textile Workers, 1890"

David L. Angus and Jeffrey E. Mirel, University of Michigan

"Path Analysis: Another Research Tool for the Educational Historian"

Charles M. Dye and Isadore Newman, University of Akron

3:30 - 5 Second Session - Ethnicity and Education
James C. Carper, Mississippi State University, Chairperson
Regis Room 30

"A Test of Andrew M. Greeley's Six Step Theory of Ethnic Assimilation by the Use of Norwegian-American Historiography"

Frank C. Nelson, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

"Ethnicity and Ethnic Studies Revisited"

Mark M. Krug, University of Chicago

5 - 5:30 Annual Business Meeting
Regis Room 30

Officers:

President
James C. Carper
Mississippi State University

Vice President/Program Chairman
David W. Adams
Cleveland State University

Secretary
David L. Angus
University of Michigan

Editor, *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society*
Edward Rutkowski
University of Northern Iowa

5:30 - 6:30 Social Hour
President's Room

Saturday, October 31

9 - 10:30 a.m. Third Session - Educational Paradigms
David W. Adams, Cleveland State University, Chairperson
Regis Room 30

"Two Christian Ideas of Childhood: Clement of Alexandria and Augustine"

J.J. Chambliss, Rutgers University

"Paradigms of Education: An Overview"

Russell Marks, Indiana University

10:30 - Noon Fourth Session - Schooling in the Urban Heartland
Arthur Zilversmith, Lake Forest College, Chairperson

"The Irony of Twentieth Century Educational Policy and Juvenile Delinquency in Chicago, 1890-1972"

Michael W. Sedlak, Northwestern University

"Urban Schooling in the Post-War Years: The Gary Experience, 1945-1955"

Ronald D. Cohen, Indiana University (Northwest)

Noon Adjournment

MINUTES: 1981 ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING THE MIDWEST HISTORY OF EDUCATION SOCIETY LOYOLA UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1981

The annual business meeting of the Midwest History of Education Society convened at 5:20 p.m., (Friday) October 30, 1981, in the Regis Room at Loyola University in Chicago. The meeting was called to order by Society President James C. Carper.

The minutes of the 1980 annual business meeting were read by Society Secretary David L. Angus and approved unanimously.

Edward Rutkowski reviewed the financial status of the *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society* and reported that since an earlier reported loss had been found to be a clerical error the balance stood at $169.20 and was rising. Nonetheless, the decision made last year to raise the price to $4.00 per issue was a correct one. He announced that a grant from *Phi Delta Kappa* to help defray the costs of the special 10th anniversary issue had been made in the amount of $100.00, rather than $200.00 as requested. Dr. Rutkowski said that the 10th anniversary issue symbolizes that the *Journal* is well established and expressed his intent to devote the next 10 years to the improvement of its quality. Members were reminded and urged to get their university libraries to subscribe to the *Journal* if they do not already do so.

The following were nominated, seconded, and elected by acclamation as officers of the Society for 1982:

President:	David W. Adams Cleveland State University
Vice President:	David L. Angus University of Michigan
Secretary:	Joan Smith Loyola University of Chicago

As program chairman for 1981, David Adams reported that 19 papers had been submitted, from which nine had been selected. While this was a drop of about one-third from the previous year, a number of potential contributors had been discouraged from submitting when it appeared in telephone conversation that their topics were not suitable.

Members of the Society expressed their deep appreciation to Gerald Gutek, Kay Smith and graduate students of Loyola for their efforts in hosting the 1981 meeting. The Society accepted an invitation to hold the 18th Annual Meeting at Loyola University in Chicago, October 29-30, 1982.

Society Secretary David L. Angus reported that out of 540 subscribers to the *History of Education Quarterly*, approximately 70 percent are located within eight Midwestern states. This indicates that the potential strength of the Society is very great. On the other hand, few persons had returned the Society's questionnaire on members' research interests. Without a higher return rate, it was not feasible to print and mail a directory.

Charles Samec renewed his long-standing request that the Society have its meeting listed in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*.

James C. Carper reported that a request from Carl Kaestle, president of the History of Education Society, that this Society consider inviting the H.E.S. to meet jointly with us in the fall of 1982, had been withdrawn. H.E.S. now expects to request a joint meeting in the fall of 1984.

The membership then expressed its appreciation to Edward Rutkowski for his work and dedication as editor of the *Journal* and to the officers for their efforts in making the 1981 meeting a success.

The meeting was adjourned at 5:40 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

David L. Angus, Secretary
The Midwest History of
Education Society

MIDWEST HISTORY OF EDUCATION
ANNUAL MEETING ATTENDANCE
FALL, 1981

David Adams
Cleveland State University
Cleveland, Ohio 44115
(216) 687-4619

David L. Angus
4118 S.E.B.
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109

John S. Auira
Loyola University of Chicago
820 N. Michigan Ave.
Chicago, Illinois 60611

Serge Bate
History Department
Winona State University
Winona, Minnesota 55987
(507) 457-2977

Bob Belding
College of Education
University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa 52317
(319) 626-6426

Virginia Brereton
University of Michigan
School of Education
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109
Home: (313) 646-4026

Jim Carper
Mississippi State University
Mississippi State,
Mississippi 39747
Home (601) 323-0893
Office (601) 325-3747

J.J. Chambliss
Rutgers University
Graduate School of Education
New Brunswick,
New Jersey 08903
(201) 932-7303

Stephen M. Colby
5737 S. Kimbark Ave.
Chicago, Illinois 60637
493-7752

Peter P. DeBoer
Calvin College
Grand Rapids, Michigan 49506
Home (616) 949-6978
College (616) 949-4000 X215

H.B. Dunkel
University of Chicago
5737 S. Kenwood
Chicago, Illinois 60637
667-8583

Charles M. Dye
University of Akron
Akron, Ohio 44325
(216) 375-6952

Chris Eisele
336 DeGarmo Hall
Illinois State University
Normal, Illinois 61761
(309) 438-7742

Br. Dominic E. Everett
Loyola University of Chicago
820 N. Michigan Ave.
Chicago, Illinois 60611

William O. Farley
Department of Education
Northern Michigan University
Marquette, Michigan 49855
(905) 227-2144

Janet Fredericks
Notre Dame de Chicago
1338 W. Flournoy
Chicago, Illinois 60607

Marcel Fredericks
Loyola University
820 N. Michigan Ave.
Chicago, Illinois 60611
670-3124

Philip Gleason
University of Notre Dame (Hist.)
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556
(219) 283-6180

Gerald L. Gutek
Loyola University
820 N. Michigan Ave.
Chicago, Illinois 60611
(312) 670-3030

Don Heilman
Northern Illinois University
828 Docker Lane
DeKalb, Illinois 60115
(815) 765-9078

Barbara Hilbert
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109

A. Hugh Jones
Ball State University
808 TL, BSN
Muncie, Indiana 47304
(317) 285-6288

Jack Kirby
Division of Education
IUPU Fort Wayne
Fort Wayne, Indiana 46805
(219) 482-5268

Dr. Mark Krug
Judd Hall
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois 60632

Robert M. Lang
Northern Illinois University
DeKalb, Illinois 60115

Robert L. McCall
University of Chicago
5835 S. Kimbark Ave.
Chicago, Illinois 60637
753-3869

Edward McClellan
School of Education
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana 47405
(812) 337-0186

Jeffrey Mirel
University of Michigan
4002 School of Education Bldg.
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109
(313) 763-6716

Kathleen Murphy
Illinois State University
Normal, Illinois 61761

Frank C. Nelson
University of
Wisconsin-Milwaukee
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201
Home (414) 781-0163
Work (414) 963-4220

Isadore Newman
University of Akron
Akron, Ohio 44325
(216) 375-6952

Eben Palmquist
55731 Ridgeview Lane
Naperville, Illinois 60540
357-5343
Morton West H.S.

Fr. Michael Perko, S.J.
Loyola University
6525 N. Sheridan Rd.
Chicago, Illinois 60626
(312) 274-3000

Edward Rutkowski
University of Northern Iowa
513 Ed. Center.
Cedar Falls, Iowa 50613
(319) 273-2609

Charles E. Samec
614 S. Clarence Ave.
Oak Park, Illinois 60304
386-8310

Joan K. Smith
Loyola University
820 N. Michigan Ave.
Chicago, Illinois 60611

Kay Smith
Loyola University
820 N. Michigan Ave.
Chicago, Illinois 60611

L. Glenn Smith
NI55 Quadrangle
Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa 50011

Sam Snyder
University of Toledo
Toledo, Ohio
(419) 537-2611

Greg Sprague
Loyola University
1437 Lunt #1-N
Chicago, Illinois 60626
670-2827

Jasper J. Valenti
Loyola University
820 N. Michigan
Chicago, Illinois 60611

John M. Wozniak
Loyola University
820 N. Michigan Ave.
Chicago, Illinois 60611
670-3052

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